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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the Series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

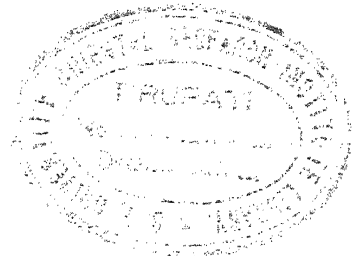
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EDITED BY

**DR. Z. A. DESAI**

Superintending Epigraphist  
Arabic and Persian Inscriptions  
Nagpur



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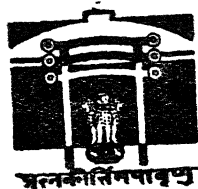
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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

### 1971

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#### SOME FOURTEENTH CENTURY EPITAPHS FROM CAMBAY IN GUJARĀT

By DR. Z. A. DESĀI

India's relations with countries of the Middle East are believed to have existed not only from pre-Islamic times but even from times immemorial, but we do not have much in the form of written records or similar evidence for this. Anyway, the advent of the Arabs as a trading community and the growing world-consciousness (not in the material but geographical and one-world concept) which they brought with them must have naturally given further impetus to this traffic, which was and remained for centuries to come, as it is so even now, in the main commercial or exploratory, for in the very early years of Islam, even sporadic efforts to establish political authority on the Indian soil were firmly discouraged by the second caliph Ḥaḍrat 'Umar who has gone down in history, as is wellknown, as having severely reprimanded his general for his expedition to the place on western coast identified as Thānā.

No doubt, as distant lands of Africa, Central Asia, Persia, etc., gradually came within the fold of Islam, the eastward political penetration resulted in the Arab occupation of Sind in the early part of the 8th century. But the real political association of the Muslims with India came only three centuries later, through the invasions, from time to time, first of the rulers of the House of Subuktigīn of Ghazna and subsequently of their Ghori supplanters, culminating in the establishment of the Muslim rule after the victory of Muḥammad bin Sām at the battle of Tarāin in 1193.

But even in this interragnum—between the conquest of Sind in 712 and the foundation of Muslim rule in northern India in 1193, the country particularly through its extensive coast-line did have relations with its neighbours in the Middle or Near East, as is amply born out by the accounts of a number of Arab authors in their geographical works or travelogues. But these works immensely valuable as they are—as a matter of fact, they contain authentic and eye-witness description of the various aspects of Indian life—they cannot fully satisfy the curiosity to know the nature of these relations in their details, because by their very nature, these works suffer from a limitation in that the information furnished by them was bound to be of a particular type. It is not unlikely that apart from the works of the geographers, there might be some unexplored material in Arabic and other foreign languages which might contain some information on the subject. Regrettably, no sustained efforts to trace these, if any, have been made nor does there appear any intention or likelihood to do so.

In any case, the material relating to these from the thirteenth century onwards, being available in somewhat greater degree, the pattern of relations becomes a little clearer. Here too, it may be pointed out, the available material is non-Indian and is mostly in the form of

The epitaphs of freed-slaves throw interesting sidelight on the life of this particular class, and the institution of 'slavery'. Apart from the indication contained in these and some other records about their social status (and indirectly financial too), the very fact that no attempt was made to conceal their antecedents shows that there was no stigma attached to, or any thing ignominious about, this state; it was evidently a case of economic condition. These records prove that these people must have enjoyed sufficient rights and could easily avail of the opportunities for showing their talents in different fields including state service.

The families known from these epitaphs to which a reference has been made above are Bamnī, Irbilī and 'Alangar. The first has only one representative in the present group but two earlier members of the family were noticed in a previous number of the series.<sup>1</sup> The Irbilīs are represented by two members in this group; one more member of this house also lies buried at Cambay.<sup>2</sup> Incidentally, in the later of the two Irbilī epitaphs here, the sobriquet 'Fatolia' occurs, as was the case with the third Irbilī record under reference. Likewise, 'Alangar too has two representatives in the present group; a third member of this family had died, if not lived, at Rānder, an old habitation near Surat, where his tombstone may still be seen.<sup>3</sup> If the family-name 'Alangar meaning a lance- or banner-maker is any indication, its members might have been engaged in the manufacture of lances or banners.

About the officials and the learned men too, the present group supplies new and hence welcome though unfortunately scanty, information except in the case of one, Malikūsh-Sharq 'Urar al-Kāzarūnī, who is mentioned only by the celebrated Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭiṭā, as will be pointed out in the proper place.

Calligraphically too, these inscriptions provide a rich feast to the eyes. In general design they follow more or less the same pattern. I had occasion to dwell upon it at some length on a previous occasion<sup>4</sup> but it may perhaps bear some repetition here. These epitaphs except in the case of one are engraved on arch-shaped tablets, usually of white marble, which are again divided into rectangular panels and arches of different shapes and decorative designs, and the texts comprising, almost as a rule, Quranic verses and the obituary proper are inscribed respectively in the arched portion, in the running borders of the stone as also in some of the horizontal lines of the vertical rectangular portion and in the remaining lines of the last mentioned. The style of writing, broadly speaking, is varied—it is basically *Naskh* or *ulth* or rather *Riqā'* in the main text and *Kūfi* or *Thulh* in the headings or *Basmala*.

This pattern of tablets and their style of writing is found to have been more or less standardised in epitaphs to which it is exclusively found employed, more or less for two centuries, without any modification. Since many such epitaphs are found in Gujarāt, mostly at Cambay and also at other far-flung places like Ahmadābād, Rānder, Verāval (in the western part of the province), Pāṭan, etc., I was first led to describe the style as typical of Gujarāt, at least in India,<sup>5</sup> but since those lines were written some more material has come to my notice which shows that this pattern was also in fashion in southern Arabia.<sup>6</sup> I was also told, almost a decade and a half back, by an Indonesian delegate to the International Conference on Asian Archaeology held at New Delhi in

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 37, plate XXIIb. Rānder is now part of Surat city.

<sup>4</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> For a similarly executed epitaph from Zufār in Omān, see *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Dn., Vol. IX (1935), pp. 402-10, pls. A-1, B-1, A-2, B-2, and C.

biographical works in Arabic. But in this case, again the difficulty is that unfortunately, even published Arabic works, let alone manuscripts, pertaining to this branch of history, are not easily available in India.<sup>1</sup>

There is one more source, unfortunately not so detailed, but more important in a sense, which has a bearing on this aspect. I refer to the epitaphs or rather such of those as have survived not so much the ruthless ravages of time as the thoughtless hand of the vandal and are found at different places of historical importance. In this article, it is proposed to study thirty such epitaphs of the fourteenth century, from an important seaport and commercial centre of the period in Western India, namely Cambay, in Kairā district of Gujarāt State.<sup>2</sup>

There is a considerable number of epitaphs to be found in this one-time port, majority of which is not *in situ*. They were set up from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards—when Gujarāt was still ruled over by the Chaulukyas and the Vāghelās, and refer to men in different walks of life—officials, scholars, merchants, sailors, craftsmen, etc.<sup>3</sup> The group under study is fairly representative in this regard: Of the thirty persons and odd mentioned therein<sup>4</sup> four were officials or men in authority—one of them was a (royal) Secretary and Minister; two (and perhaps one more) can be distinctly recognised as men of vast learning and erudition; at least three belonged to the community of merchants and business-men including those belonging to, what appear to be, prominent, local families; three were 'freed-slaves', that is to say, they started their career with bondage but were later freed by their masters whose names are also given in each case; and lastly, at least three of the deceased were ladies who, it can be easily surmised, came from families of status—as a matter of fact, one of them is clearly mentioned as having been the spouse of a great merchant and official, as will be presently noted. In the case of the remaining twelve persons or so, it is difficult to ascertain their vocations for want of any specific mention in the text, but it is a reasonable surmise that most of these also belonged to mercantile community.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, there is little doubt about the foreign origin of these persons. Almost all of them, with the possible exception of one or two, were settlers from Persia and adjoining territories, as the appellations to their names as al-Banmī, al-Gilānī, al-Hanādānī, al-Kāzarīnī, al-Ardastānī, al-Tifīsi, al-Baṣrī, al-Isfahānī, etc., tend to suggest. These persons mostly belonging to the mercantile class, had settled down, may be, from more than one generation for carrying on trade and business at Cambay which, being a flourishing port and wealthy town, was eminently suited for the purpose. This and the information about the places from which they originally hailed should provide some material for the nature of relations between different countries and pattern of the foreign settlers on the Indian soil, who must have subsequently merged in the local population.

<sup>1</sup> The importance of these works can be judged by a couple of articles published by me 'incorporating the information gleaned from a few works available to me: 'India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries', *Mahā Rām Felicitation Volume* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 209-27; 'Relations of India with Middle-eastern countries during the 16th-18th centuries', in *Professor H. K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*, Hyderabad, 1975.

<sup>2</sup> References to works containing an account of Cambay and its monuments and inscriptions will be found in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIASP)*, 1961, pp. 3 (f.n. 7), 4 (f.n. 1-5); *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3 (& f.n. 2), 6, 19, 20, 27; *ibid.*, 1963, pp. 10 (& f.n. 2), 18, 21, 32, 36, 39, 42, 49; *ibid.*, 1970, pp. 74 (& f.n. 2), 83.

<sup>3</sup> As many as five thirteenth century epitaphs from Cambay, dated 1232, 1249, 1284, 1287 and 1291 were published in *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 7, 9, 17, 19, and 22 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the epitaphs mention more than one person (apart from his or her father and fore-fathers), as for example, the masters of the freed slaves. Of course, in the absence of any information about the early careers of these freed slaves, their masters cannot be necessarily deemed to have lived in Cambay, but the specific mention of the relationship in the death-record should indicate that in all probability it was so.

<sup>5</sup> The surname Khwāja in the case of a few of them, may perhaps be taken to indicate this.

1961 that in his country too, this type of tombstones was in vogue. But I have not been able to procure any further information in this regard.

A striking aspect of the epitaphs studied below is that as many as twenty-six out of the total thirty belong to persons who died in the first half of the century, the latter half only claiming four. Representing as they do a fair sample-survey of epitaphs from Cambay, this fact may not be without significance and may perhaps be taken to reflect the fluctuations in the social and economic life of Cambay. Could the diminishing number in the latter half of the fourteenth century have been due in some measure at least, to the fact that it was not as peaceful as the earlier half, politically speaking, both for the province and the town, or to any change in the status of Cambay consequent upon the concentration of political power in the north of the province, to wit, at Pāṭan (Nahrwālā of Muslim historians)?

As has been stated earlier,<sup>1</sup> most of these epigraphs, twenty-one to be exact, had been noticed and listed by the Archaeological Surveyor of the Western Circle more than half a century back,<sup>2</sup> but unfortunately, their notices are usually incomplete and incorrect.

It may be noted that all but three of these epitaphs are not *in situ*. The tablets of most of them are built up into the walls of the Tomb of a local saint popularly known as Parvāz Shāh, Parvār Shāh or Parvāz Shāhid, which is situated on the north-western outskirts of the town.<sup>3</sup> The entire area around the tomb particularly on its west and south sides is strewn with tombs and graves. While most of their tombstones have either disappeared or lie buried in the ground, one can still see a few lying about here and there. It is from this burial ground that the headstones now preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh must have been removed. They were lying loose in the Tomb premises at the time of the survey referred to above (for they are mentioned in the Report as 'Tombstones collected in the Tomb') and must have been built up into walls, as of now, in 1946 when its present building was constructed.<sup>4</sup> A few more headstones from this burial ground seem to have been removed to the Tomb of Pīr Tājū'd-Dīn, also situated in the same graveyard half way to the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid, while a few seem to have found their way to some Tombs and mosques of the town.

Of the epitaphs studied here, nineteen are from the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh (with two more from outside it) and two each from the Tomb of Pīr Tājū'd-Dīn, Tomb of Buhlūl Shāhid and Faras-pūr ki-Masjid. The remaining three are the only ones *in situ*—two fixed at the head of graves

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (PRWC)*, for the year ending 31st March 1920 (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 49-54, Appendix Q, Nos. 1-9, 11, 14, 16-22, 32-33, 41, 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> The tomb, a modern structure constructed about three decades back, comprises a large rectangular hall, with the grave of the saint under a wooden canopy. Nothing is known about the saint or his times except that his name was Shaikh 'Alī Jawālīqī, according to a framed short notice in Arabic, which runs as follows: 'Praise be to Allāh and obligation too. And salvation and peace be on Muḥammad the best of mankind and his progeny and companions. This edifice of the (tomb-)garden (which is) from among the gardens of Paradise, (containing the remains of) His Holiness the martyr, Shaikh 'Alī Jawālīqī, known as Pīr Parvār, may his secret be sanctified, was raised from its very foundation a second time and completed on the 29th of the month of Dhū'l-Qa'da of the year five and sixty and three hundred after one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet (29 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1365=25 October 1946).'

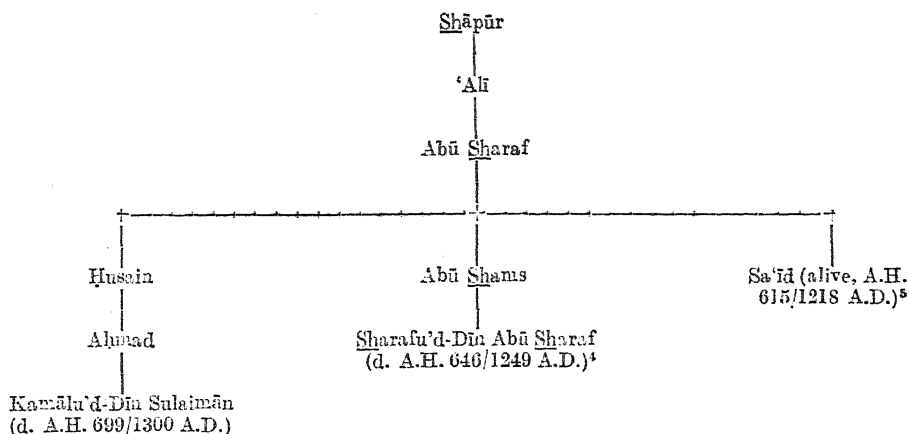
<sup>4</sup> There are in all twenty-six headstones thus preserved in this Tomb, out of which eleven occur in the east, six in the west, four in the south, and two in the north wall. These have been listed in our annual reports, but through oversight, the walls have been wrongly specified in the provenance of fifteen of these, viz. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 69-83. The correct provenance is: Nos. 69, 70, 72 and 81, in the south wall, Nos. 71, 77 and 80, in the east wall, Nos. 73, 74, 75, 76, 78 and 82, in the west wall, and Nos. 79, and 83, in the north wall.

in the mausoleum forming the southern annexe of the Jāmi' Mosque and one at the grave of Bīlī Rānī at Nāgarā, a village five kilometres to the north of Cambay.

# I. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 699 (1300 A.D.)

The first epigraph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet of white marble, measuring 68 cm. from apex to bottom and 36 cm. at the base, which is fixed at the head of a grave on a low platform, situated to the left of the passage just outside the entrance of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh.<sup>1</sup> A wide margin inscribed with Quranic verses runs all along the tablet, except at the bottom; its arched portion is decorated with a trifol arch resting on junks with foliated patterns at their sides, and above the arch is inscribed the formulae vesting the proprietorship of the entire worldly kingdom in Allāh. The rectangular portion under the arch is divided into seven horizontal panels, the first containing the First Creed, the second a Quranic verse and the rest, the obituary proper, according to which the grave was that of Kamālū'd-Dīn Sulaimān son of Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abī (i.e. Abū) Sharaf al-Bamnī who had died on Monday, 30th Jumādā 699 (22nd February 1300). The text designates the deceased as *al-Gharīb* meaning 'the stranger in the land' that is to say a foreigner or emigrant, which may be taken to indicate that he had not yet finally settled down in Cambay when death overtook him. He seems to have been one of the merchants from foreign countries carrying on trade here. His *nisba* al-Bamnī shows that Kamālū'd-Dīn Sulaimān belonged either by birth or origin, to Bamnī, a famous fortress-town between Kirmān and Zāhidān in the Kirmān province of Irān.<sup>2</sup>

The deceased appears to have been a member of what appears to be the Bamnī family residing at Cambay. Two more persons with this *nisba* who find mention in epigraphs from Cambay are Sa'id son of Abū Sharaf son of 'Alī son of Shāpūr al-Bamnī (alive in 1218) and Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Sharaf son of Abū Shams son of Abū Sharaf al-Bamnī (died in 1249).<sup>3</sup> Taking their names and their dates into account, all the three appear to have been the off-spring of one fore-father as per the following genealogical table:—



<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 131; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 51, No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* (Cairo, 1906), Vol. II, under Bamnī; Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i-Guzāda*, ed. E. G. Browne (Leyden, 1910), p. 633; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft Iqlīm*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1963), p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> See the next two foot-notes.

<sup>4</sup> He built a mosque at Cambay in this year (*ELAPS*, 1961, pp. 5-6, pl. I a).

<sup>5</sup> For his epitaph, see *ibid.*, pp. 9-10, pl. II a.



the pen of the writer, and which he might have thought of inserting somewhere amidst the titles'.<sup>1</sup> This reasoning is, to put it mildly, rather curious: the composer, or for that matter even the scribe or engraver, may altogether omit the name of the governor, but it is highly improbable that in the text of a record, the name of any person intended to be mentioned, particularly of the status of a governor, should *slip* from the engraver's pen.

The fact is that it did not strike Mr. Saksena that the word *Tamur*, a common noun in Turkish, meaning 'a sword', is used here not as such, but as a proper noun, as it is also indicated respectively by the appellation *Sultānī* and the high titles including the personal one *Ikhtiyārū'd-Dīn*, indicating his status, that follow and precede the name. Then again, a reference to contemporary historical works would have provided a clue to the name of this high nobleman who finds mention therein.

Secondly, Mr. Saksena has erred in reporting *Ismā'il*, son of 'Abdu's-Salām, as one 'who wrote this epigraph', though he correctly credits him with having 'caused the mosque completed'.<sup>2</sup> This mistake was again due to his wrong reading of the word *mansūb* in the phrase *muḥarrir-i-mansūb ba-khiṭṭa-i-Kol* in the third line, as *makṭūb*; this phrase (as read by him) he had translated as 'writer of the script (caused it to be completed), in the country of Koka'.<sup>3</sup> The fact is that *Ismā'il* was the *muḥarrir* (secretary)<sup>4</sup> attached to the *khiṭṭa* (district) of Kol, i.e. modern Aligarh. Since he failed to establish the correct purport of the text, Mr. Saksena was in doubt about *Ismā'il*'s vocation, as is clear from his statement that 'he seems to be in all probability either an architect or some subordinate officer who might be in charge of the construction of the mosque'.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, Mr. Saksena states that the 'inscription names no town but mentions the territory of Koka.....the Raja of Malwa'.<sup>6</sup> The text, as we have seen above, mentions Kol and not Koka and states that the builder of the mosque was an official of that district. Consequently, Mr. Saksena's surmise that 'it is probable that even at that time (i.e. in 1311, seven years after the *Khaljī* conquest of Malwa despite Koka's valiant opposition), this part of the country may have been more popularly known as Koka dominion (Desa)', deserves to be rejected as it is not at all corroborated, even indirectly, by the text. Likewise, it would not be correct to maintain, as done by him, that the inscription provides a further evidence of the existence of the Malwa Rāja who has been noticed by *Firishṭa* only.<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, Koka, who was, incidentally, the foster-brother and prime-minister of the Malwa king, is mentioned by earlier writers, as for example, contemporary Amīr *Khusraw* and later *Yahyā Sarhindī*.<sup>8</sup>

So much for Mr. Saksena's observations on this inscription. We have already seen above that the governor *Tamur Sultānī* is not unknown to history, though as in the case of most of the men of the past, we do not know much about him. Contemporary historian *Baranī* lists him among the nobles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn *Khaljī* and his son *Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh* and quotes both his name and title.<sup>9</sup> He also mentions his having received the fief of *Chanderi* and *Brihkh* from 'Alāu'd-Dīn.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 655.

<sup>4</sup> For two more inscriptions referring to the office of the *muḥarrir*, please see *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 5; 1967, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 655.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 654.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 655.

<sup>8</sup> Amīr *Khusraw*, *Khaṣṣā'inu'l-Futūḥ* (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 55, 56; *Yahyā Sarhindī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta 1931), p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> *Qutbu'd-Dīn Baranī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 241 (where the title is spelt as جبار الدين, an obvious misprint, which has not been corrected in the Hindi translation of the relevant portion in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Khaljī-kālīn Bhārāt*, Aligarh, 1955, p. 41), 379.

<sup>10</sup> *Baranī, op. cit.*, p. 323.

EPITAPHS FROM CAMBAY GUJARĀT

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 699 ( p. 6 )



SCALE : ·2

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 700 ( p. 7 )



SCALE : ·26

Barani's account of the distribution of fiefs: we are told that while Dhar and Ujjain were given to 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Chanderi and Erichh were conferred on Malik Tamur.<sup>1</sup> Also, from Ibn Battūṭa's statement, it can be reasonably inferred that the administrative unit of Chanderi was inclusive of the region around Gwalior too. Ibn Battūṭa, it may be pointed out, reports his meeting with the governor of Chanderi at Gwalior.<sup>2</sup>

The above point should not be lost sight of while discussing the time of Chanderi's subjugation by the Muslims. But for the short-lived conquest by Iltutmish's son Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd in 1251,<sup>3</sup> the place seems to have defied Muslim authority. At least in the time of Jalālu'd-Dīn Firūz Khālji (1290-96), it was under Hindu sway, as is known from a categorical statement of 'Alāu'd-Dīn himself in the context of his Deogiri expedition from Kara.<sup>4</sup> It must have been, therefore, reduced some time after that event, that is to say in the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. We can safely dismiss Ibn Battūṭa's statement that it was conquered by Khusrāw Khān;<sup>5</sup> he was probably misinformed or rather misled by the fact that Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh had bestowed Chanderi on Khusrāw Khān after Malik Tamur's dismissal, as has been seen above.

Thus the question as to when and by whom was Chanderi conquered remains still unanswered. Among the early authorities, only Mīr Khurd refers to the conquest of Chanderi having taken place in the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. According to him, a governor (*wālī*), who was a disciple of the patron-saint of Delhi, Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn, was sent by the king with a large force to conquer Chanderi. Since the assignment was a difficult one, the said official requested the saint to send one of his companions for moral and spiritual support, and accordingly, Maulānā Wajihu'd-Dīn Yūsuf was deputed to participate in the expedition.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, Mīr Khurd has refrained from either naming the governor or dating the event, though it is almost certain that the governor concerned was not Tamur, since the said hagiographer narrates this event immediately after he has referred to the high-handedness of Tamur (referred to in the preceding lines), resulting in the desertion of Chanderi by most of his soldiers and the intended desertion by Maulānā Yūsuf too.<sup>7</sup> Under the circumstances, the only thing that can be definitely asserted is that Chanderi was conquered quite some time before A. H. 711, the date of our record.

Incidentally, the name Tamur is variously spelt by different writers as Tamar,<sup>8</sup> Tamūr, Tamur or Timur,<sup>10</sup> and Timūr.<sup>11</sup> As the name is inscribed in our epigraph without diacritical marks, it is difficult to determine the correct pronunciation. The name can be read both as 'Tamar' or 'Timur' in Arabic, the former meaning a 'ripe date', and the latter, the eye-disease—'a pearl in the eye' or 'obscurity and darkness'.<sup>12</sup> But in Turkish, the same word is pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 167.

<sup>3</sup> Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Mīr Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 341; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 135, 136, 225; Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, 65-66 (but 'Timūr' on pp. 67-68 and 'Tamar (Timūr)' on p. 67, f.n.3). In Dr. Mahdi Husain's English translation of Ibn Battūṭa's *Riḥla* (p. 50), the name is spelt as Tamūr.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 392, 393, 394, 398.

<sup>11</sup> Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>12</sup> Muḥammad Bādshāh, *Farkang-i-Anandraj*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1889), p. 731.

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the stranger (or emigrant), the one who is called unto Allāh's mercy and pardoned,

(4) the sinful, the dependent on the mercy of Allāh the Exalted, Kamālū'd-Dīn

(5) Sulaimān son of Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abī Sharaf al-Bannī (lit. of Bannī), may Allāh cover him

(6) with (His) mercy and pleasure and settle him in the abode of Paradise. He died on Mon-

(7) day, last day of (the month of) Jumādā the First (of the ) year (A.H.) nine and ninety and six hundred (last day i.e. 30 Jumādā I 699=22 February 1300).

## II. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 700 (1301 A.D.)

This epitaph is from the Tomb of Pir Tāju'd-Dīn, a small modern open four-walled enclosure, referred to above,<sup>1</sup> which must have originally formed part of the main burial ground of the town but fenced off not very long ago.<sup>2</sup> There are three graves in this enclosure, and the epigraph studied below is the one from the middle grave.<sup>3</sup>

The marble-tablet is as usual arch-shaped and comparatively plain. Measuring 52 cm. from apex to bottom and 35 cm. in width at the base, it has a margin all around except at the bottom, which contains one of the two Quranic texts usually found in epitaphs from Cambay. In the arched portion is inscribed the First Creed, and below it, the first and the second of the six horizontal panels contain *Basmala* and a famous Quranic verse on the mortality of human beings. The epitaph proper contained in the remaining four lines marks the grave to be that of Tāju'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Muḥammad a'z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī who is stated to have expired on Monday, the 9th Jumādā II 700 (19th February 1301).

The *nisba* al-Qazwīnī makes the deceased Tāju'd-Dīn an Iranian settler or emigrant. Though locally venerated as a saint, there is nothing in the text to invest him with any saintly status or spiritual powers. Very probably, he was one of the innumerable merchants, traders, craftsmen or artisans who are usually found at such busy ports as Cambay was in those days.

The text which is executed in *Riqā'*-mixed *Thulth* style of a fairly high quality has been deciphered as follows :—

### TEXT

#### Plate I(b)

##### (a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 117. It was first noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Here on a small platform at the back may be seen the epitaph dated A.H. 630 or 1232 A.D. (*ELAPS*, 1961, p. 7, pl. I b).

<sup>3</sup> There are four more headstones embedded into the north and east walls (*ARIE*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 118-121). These tablets must have been brought to this place from the graveyard after the visit of the Archaeological Surveyor in 1919-20, since they are not mentioned in his report but the one under study is (*PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32).

(b) *Within the arch.*

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(c) *Horizontal panels,*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) كل نفس ذائقة الموت

(٣) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف الراجي الى رحمة الله

(٤) تعالى تاج الدين محمد ابن محمد الزكريا القزويني

(٥) تغمده الله بالرحمة و الرضوان و اسكنه في دار الجنان

(٦) وقد توفي يوم الاثنين التاسع من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة سبعماية

#### TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>1</sup>

(b) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>

(c) (1) (*Basmala* :) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death'.<sup>3</sup>

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh.

(4) the Exalted, Tajū'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Muḥammad a'z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī (in. of Qazwīn),<sup>4</sup>

(5) may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and pleasure and settle him in the abode of Paradise.

(6) And he died on Monday, the ninth of the month of Jumādā the Second (of the) year (A.H.) 700 (9 Jumādā II 700=19 February 1301).

### III. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 707 (1307 A.D.)

The arch-shaped tablet bearing this extremely interesting epitaph is of considerable size measuring 1.12 metre from apex to bottom and 53 cm. in width and is built up into the north wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shahīd.<sup>5</sup>

The record comprises religious text and the epitaph proper, as in the case of the two preceding epitaphs, but in this instance, there is more Quranic text and the arrangement of the whole record is also somewhat more elaborate. In addition to the three-sides margin, there are two inner vertical panels, the arch-base is converted into a separate horizontal panel and the arched area on the tablet is ornamented with a trifoil arch. The central or main portion consists of ten inscribed panels of uniform size except the first one which is wider.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 184.

<sup>4</sup> Qazwīn is a famous town in Irān.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 79.

The outer and inner margins contain two different sets of Quranic verses, the arch-base is inscribed with the *Basmala*, the first two horizontal panels are taken up with the First Creed and a Quranic verse, the third, fourth and part of the fifth record a Tradition of the Prophet on the fleeting character of human life, and the rest contain the obituary stating that the grave belonged to Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad son of 'Alī son of Yahyā son of al-Jauzī al-Jazrī who expired on Tuesday, the 17th Rabī' II 707 (16th October 1307).

The epigraph was briefly noticed in the Progress Report referred to above, where the year of death was wrongly quoted as A.H. 709 and the name of the deceased and those of his father and grandfather were given as 'Shamsuddin Muḥammad bin Suraihi ibn alī Jawzī al-Jazari'.<sup>1</sup>

While nothing is known about the deceased, the epithets used for him in the text show him to be a leading personality of his times, at least in the field of religious knowledge and learning. He is described as 'the savant well-versed in the subtleties of knowledge, the leading teacher and pursuer of Truth and the *Muftī* (i.e. giver of *Fatwā* or religious decisions) of sections and groups.'

It has not been possible to identify the deceased or to get hold of any particulars of his life.<sup>2</sup> The epigraph calls him a martyr which means that he had met his death in one of the ways laid down in the religious law for martyrdom, such as killing, drowning, snake-bite, etc. Also, he is mentioned as *al-Gharīb* i.e. a stranger or one from another land, indicating that he was an emigrant or a new-comer to Cambay.

The text is executed in the same *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* which marks the calligraphy of the thirteenth century epitaphs of this type and reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate II(a)

## (a) Outer margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذ[ه] سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء ومع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه  
فى الدين قد تبين الرشده من النعم فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى  
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

## (b) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولو[ا] العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا[ء]هم العلم  
بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

<sup>1</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say if Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Jazari (d.A.H. 833), the celebrated author of the famous work *al-Higayyāt al-Haḡīn* was among his descendants.

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

## i. Arch-base :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

## ii. Below (i) :

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٣) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم كن في الدنيا

(٤) كأنك غريب او كعابر سبيل و عد نفسك

(٥) من اصحاب القبور هذا قبر السعيد الشهيد

(٦) الغريب العالم المدقق و الامام المحقق

(٧) مفتي الفرق و الطوائف شمس الدين محمد

(٨) بن علي بن يحيى بن الجوزى الجوزى طيب الله بالرحمة مهجعه

(٩) و آنس بالقرآن مضجعه انتقل من دار الفنا الى دار البقا

(١٠) يوم [ل]ثلاثا من السابع عشر من ربيع الآخر سنة سبع و سبعماية

## TRANSLATION

(a) 'Allāh is He besides whom there is no god, the Ever-living, the Self-subsisting by whom all subsist; slumber does not overtake Him nor sleep; whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth is His; who is he that can intercede with Him but by His permission? He knows what is before them and what is behind them, and they cannot comprehend anything out of His knowledge except what He pleases; His knowledge extends over the heavens and the earth and the preservation of them both tires him not, and He is the Most High, the Great. There is no compulsion in religion; truly, the right way has become clearly distinct from error; therefore whoever disbelieves in the devil and believes in Allāh, he indeed has laid hold on the firmest handle which shall not break off, and Allāh is Hearing, Knowing.'<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>2</sup>

(c) i. *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>

ii. (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(2) 'Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings will be theirs.'<sup>5</sup>

(3) The Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be on him, has said, "Be in the world

(4) as though thou art a stranger or a wayfarer and consider thyself as

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

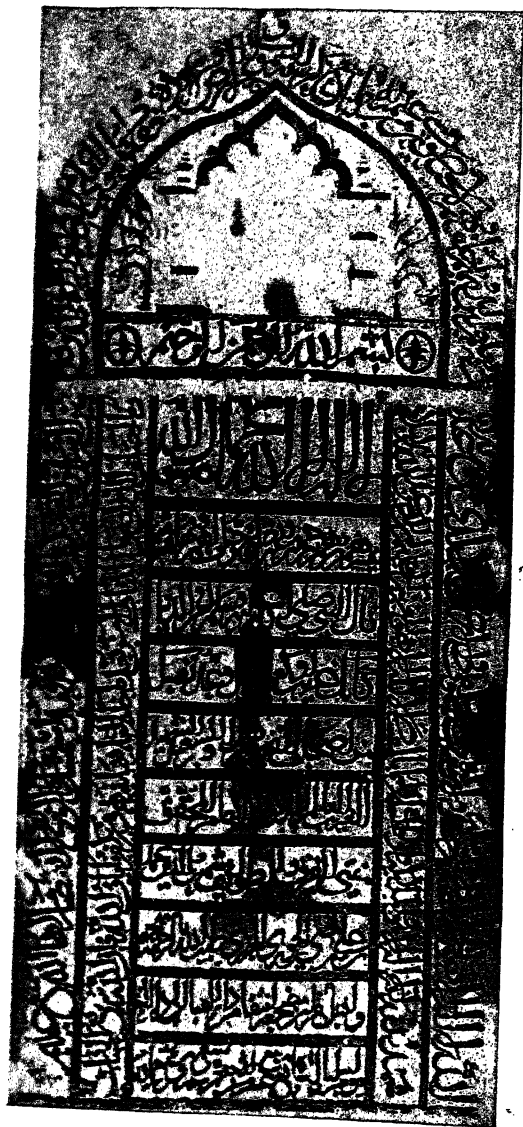
<sup>5</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.





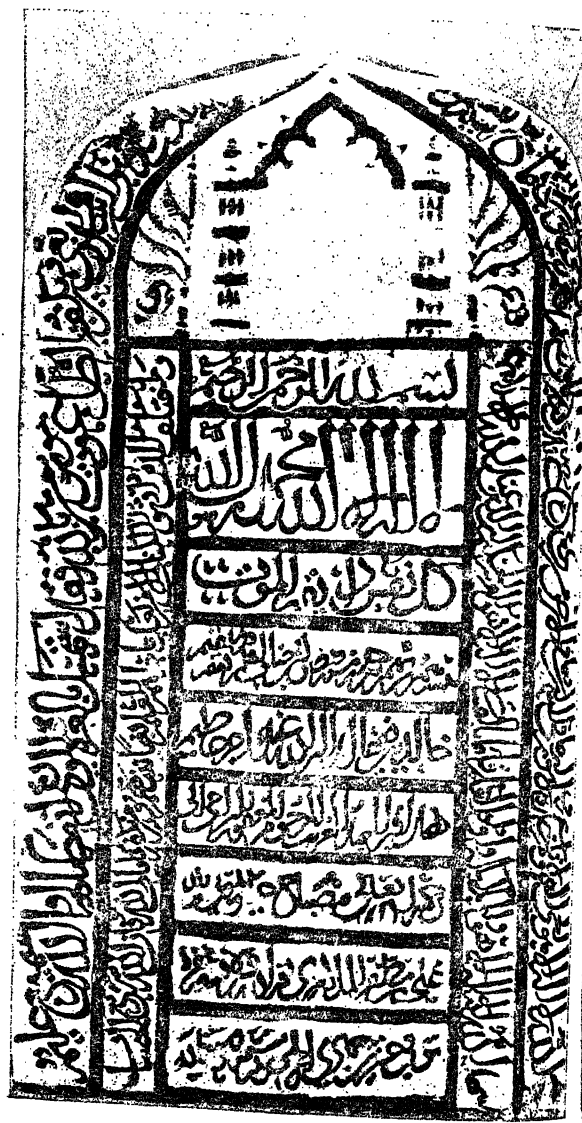
PLATE II

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 707 (p. 9)



SCALE : ·12

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 709 (p. 11)



SCALE : ·17

- (5) from among the occupants of graves". This is the grave of the fortunate, the martyr,  
 (6) the stranger, the learned and well-versed in subtleties of knowledge, the Imām (lit. leader) and a seeker of Truth,  
 (7) *Mufīī*<sup>1</sup> of the sects and groups, *Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad*  
 (8) son of 'Alī son of Yaḥyā ibn al-Jauzī al-Jazrī, may Allāh render his sleeping place pleasant through (His) mercy  
 (9) and make his resting place agreeable through (the blessings of) the *Qur'ān*. He passed on from the House of mortality to the House of immortality  
 (10) on Tuesday, the seventeenth of (the month of) the Second Rabi' (of the) year (A.H.) seven and seven hundred (17 Rabi' II 707=16 October 1307).

## IV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 709 (1309 A.D.)

This inscription was also noticed in the Progress Report, where it was stated to be 'on the Tombstone of Muizzuddin Ālī ibn-i-Muẓaffar, died 20th Jamādī-ul-Aḥḥir, 790 A.H.'.<sup>2</sup> This is grossly incorrect. The epitaph was meant to mark the grave of one Miṣbāḥ, who is described in the text as a freed slave of Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī son of Muẓaffar al-Malādhari, and it places his death on the 20th Jumādā II 709 (25th November 1309).

The marble tablet bearing the record is slightly damaged and has lost some portion of the Quranic text at the top. It measures 85 cm. from apex to bottom and 48 cm. in width and may now be seen, second from left, in the western wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh.<sup>3</sup> In general design it more or less conforms to the prevalent type, having a three sides margin and two vertical panels within enclosing horizontal panels. The margin and vertical panels are inscribed as usual with Quranic verses and the horizontal panels in the same way contain the epitaph proper preceded by the *Basmala*, First Creed and Quranic text.

The style of writing is *Riqā'*-mixed *Naskh*.

The deceased is unknown from any other source. The record furnishes the information that he was originally a purchased slave and was subsequently freed by his master. That his master was an immigrant is clear from his *nisba* al-Malādhari. So was Miṣbāḥ too, as is indicated by the epithet *al-Gharīb* appended to his name. Beyond this, we have no information about the either of them, but it is a reasonable guess that the one-time master was a merchant or a ship-owner; the deceased too can be reasonably deemed to have been a man of means.

The text has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate II(b)

## (a) Outer margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض  
 من [ذی الذی] يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه

<sup>1</sup> One who is competent to give religious decisions.

<sup>2</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 75.

الا إما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلى العظيم لا اكره فى الدين قد تبين الرشده من الغنى فمن يكفر بالطاغوت ويؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم

(b) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولو[ا] العلم قايم بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وما [ا]ختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم ومن يكفر بآيات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(c)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت

(٤) يبشروهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٥) خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٦) هذا قبر العبد الغريب المرحوم المغفور الراجى الى

(٧) رحمة الله تعالى مصباح عتيق المولى زين الدين

(٨) على بن مظفر الملاذرى نور الله قبره بسعة مغفرته

(٩) توفى عشرين جمادى الاخر سنة تسعة و سبعمائة

#### TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>2</sup>

(c) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *First Creed*.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 184.<sup>5</sup>

(4) 'Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs ;

(5) abiding therein for ever; surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.

(6) This is the grave of the creature, the stranger (who is) received into (Allāh's) mercy (and is) hopeful of

(7) the mercy of Allāh the Exalted, Miḡbāḥ, the freed slave of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> Zainu'd-Dīn

(8) 'Alī son of Muẓaffar al-Malādhari, may Allāh illumine his grave with His ample pardon.

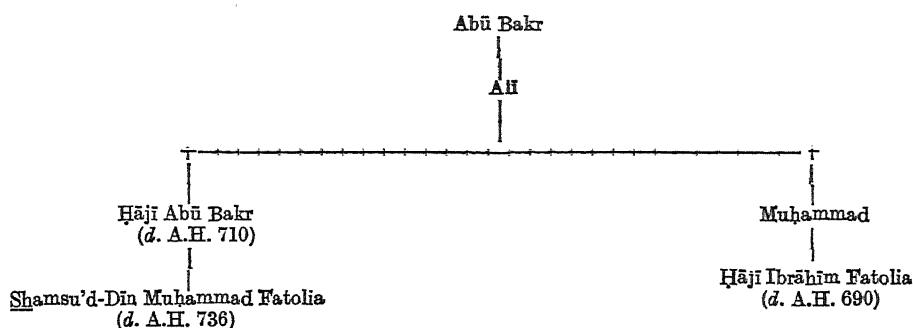
(9) He died on the twentieth (of the month) of Jumādā the Second (of the) year (A.H.) nine and seven hundred (20 Jumādā II 709=25 November 1309).

#### V. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 710 (1310 A.D.)

This arch-shaped headstone also comes from the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid, where it is built up, fourth from right, in the eastern wall.<sup>2</sup> It is smaller in size being only 55 cm. in height and 25 cm. in width and has a single marginal border inscribed with Quranic text and horizontal panels within, containing religious texts followed by the epitaph proper.

This tombstone was originally set up on the grave of Ḥāji Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr Irbilī, who died on the 25th Muḥarram 710 (24th June 1310). In the Progress Report where the tombstone is noticed, the deceased's *nisba* is given as Adbalī.<sup>3</sup>

As in the case of the other persons mentioned in the preceding epitaphs, nothing is known about Abū Bakr Irbilī. But there are found at Cambay at least three epitaphs bearing this *nisba* Irbilī i.e. of Irbil, a town near Mosul in modern Irāq, and from this it can be safely surmised that he belonged to the same family, which guess is further corroborated by the names of the three persons—Ḥāji Ibrāhīm son of Muḥammad son of 'Alī al-Irbilī known as *Fatolia* (d. A.H. 690),<sup>4</sup> Ḥāji Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr al-Irbilī, mentioned in the epitaph under study (d. A.H. 710) and Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr son of 'Alī Irbilī (d. A.H. 736), whose epitaph has also survived (No. XXIII, *infra*). We would not perhaps be much wrong, on the basis of this information to draw up a genealogy of these persons as under :—



Very probably, thus, the deceased belonged to the Irbilī family of Cambay, which appears to have been a leading business-house of the town : Ḥāji Ibrāhīm has been described in his epitaph as 'the magnificent chief, the great and glorious master, king of merchants and prince of ship-masters', etc.,<sup>5</sup> while the epitaph under study calls Ḥāji Abū Bakr 'the respected chief'. In

<sup>1</sup> The text has Maulā, an equivalent of *Khawāja* in Arabic-speaking countries

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 123.

<sup>3</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 77; *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 23, pl. Vb.

<sup>5</sup> *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 24.

the case of the other two members, the *alias* 'Fatolia' is used, but the present epitaph omits it. As has been stated elsewhere, Fatolia appears to have been a sobriquet for the family rather than for the individual.<sup>1</sup>

The calligraphy of this record is similar to that in the previous records, the script being *Riqā'*-mixed *Naskh*. Its text is quoted below :—

## TEXT

## Plate III(b)

## (a) Border.

شهد الله انه لا اله هو و الملائكة و اولو[ا] العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتو[ا] الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

## (b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٤) هذا قبر الصدر المحترم المرحوم المغفور الراجى

(٥) الى رحمة ربه حاجى ابو بكر بن على بن ابو بكر

(٦) اربى نور الله قبره بسعة مغفرته توفي يوم الاربعاء

(٧) الخامس و العشرون من المحرم سنة عشرة و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>2</sup>

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>3</sup>

(2) *Basmala*.<sup>4</sup>

(3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.<sup>5</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the respected chief, one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned, hopeful

(5) of the mercy of his Nourisher, *Hājī* Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23, where the word Fatolia has been explained.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> One who has performed the *Hajj*, i.e. made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba at Mecca.

(6) Irbilī (i.e. of Irbil, near Mosul), may Allāh illumine his grave with His ample pardon. He died on Wednesday,

(7) the twentyfifth of (the month of) Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) ten and seven hundred (25 Muḥarram 710=24 June 1310).

## VI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 713 (1314 A.D.)

This is the epitaph of another person who has been described in the text as a freed slave. It is inscribed on an arch-shaped headstone fixed, second from right, into the north wall of the Tomb of Fīravāz Shahīd<sup>1</sup> and conforms, more or less, to the ornate—two-margins—type of the tombstones in the present group. There is, however, a slight variation in the Quranic text.

According to the epigraph, the grave belonged to one Amīnu'd-Dīn Kāfūr, a freed slave of the merchant Sharafu'd-Dīn Mahdī son of Muḥammad al-Hamadānī, who had died on 1st Dhu'l-Qa'da A.H. 713 (17th February 1314). No further informatin is contained in the text about Amīnu'd-Dīn, except that his former master was a merchant by profession and had hailed from Hamadān, the famous city in western Irān.

The notice of this epitaph by the Archaeological Surveyor in his Progress Report is misleading and confusing: The deceased is stated to be 'Asīruddīn Kāfūr Atīq (ibn) Sharfuddīn Mehdī ibn-i-Muḥammad al-bāqir-ul-Hamadānī'.<sup>2</sup> Both the one-time slave and master have been mistaken as son and father due to the ignorance about the term 'Atīq, and the Arabic term for merchant, (a't-Tājir), due to lack of diacritical marks and peculiar style of writing, was erroneously read as 'al-bāqir'.

The style of writing is again typical *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the calligraphy is of a fairly high order. The tablet measures about 102 cm. from apex to bottom and is 38 cm. in width.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

### TEXT

#### Plate III(a)

##### (a) Outer margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی لا اله  
[الا] هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهیمن العزیز

##### (b) i. Corners at the arch-base.

الملك لله

##### ii. Vertical panels and top (arch-base) panel.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزیز  
الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بغیا بینهم و من یکفر بایات الله فان الله سریع الحساب صدق الله

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 83, where it is wrongly stated to be in the eastern wall.

<sup>2</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 4.

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(٣) يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ وَجَنَاتٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ

(٤) مُقِيمٌ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَيْدَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ جَارٍ عَظِيمٌ

(٥) هَذَا قَبْرُ الْعَبْدِ الْمَرْحُومِ الْمَغْفُورِ أَمِينِ الدِّينِ كَانُورِ

(٦) عَتِيقِ الْمَرْحُومِ شَرْفِ الدِّينِ مَهْدَى بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ التَّاجِرِ الْهَمْدَانِي

(٧) تَغْمَدُهُ اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ وَاسْكُنْهُ بِحُبُوحَةِ جَنَانِهِ تَوْفَى يَوْمَ الْآرِبَعَا

(٨) غَرَهُ ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَةِ عَشَرَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ (كَذَا) عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ

## TRANSLATION

(a) 'He is Allāh besides whom there is no God : The knower of the unseen and the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allāh, besides whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Author of peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty.'<sup>1</sup>

(b) Kingdom belongs to Allāh.

(c) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,<sup>2</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(d) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>

(2) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>5</sup>

(5) This is the grave of the creature, received in (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Aminu'd-Dīn Kāfūr,

(6) the freed slave of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, Sharafu'd-Dīn Mahdī son of Muḥammad, the merchant, al-Hamadānī (i.e. of Hamadān),

(7) may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pleasure and grant him abode in the centre of His Paradise. He died on Wednesday,

(8) the first (of the month) of Dhu'l-Qa'da (of the year (A.H.) thirteen and seven hundred (1 Dhu'l-Qa'da 713=17 February 1314). And Allāh's salutation be on Muḥammad (the Prophet).

## VII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 715 (1315 A.D.)

One more family or professional name has come to light through this epitaph, which is inscribed on an arch-shaped tablet of white marble, now fixed, seventh from right into the eastern wall of

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.

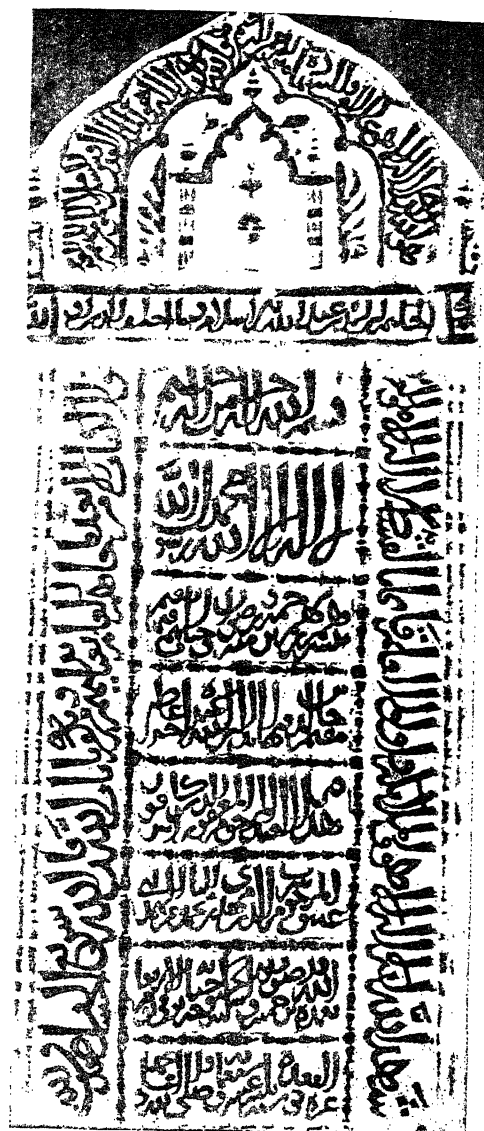
<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 713 (p. 15)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 710 (p. 14)



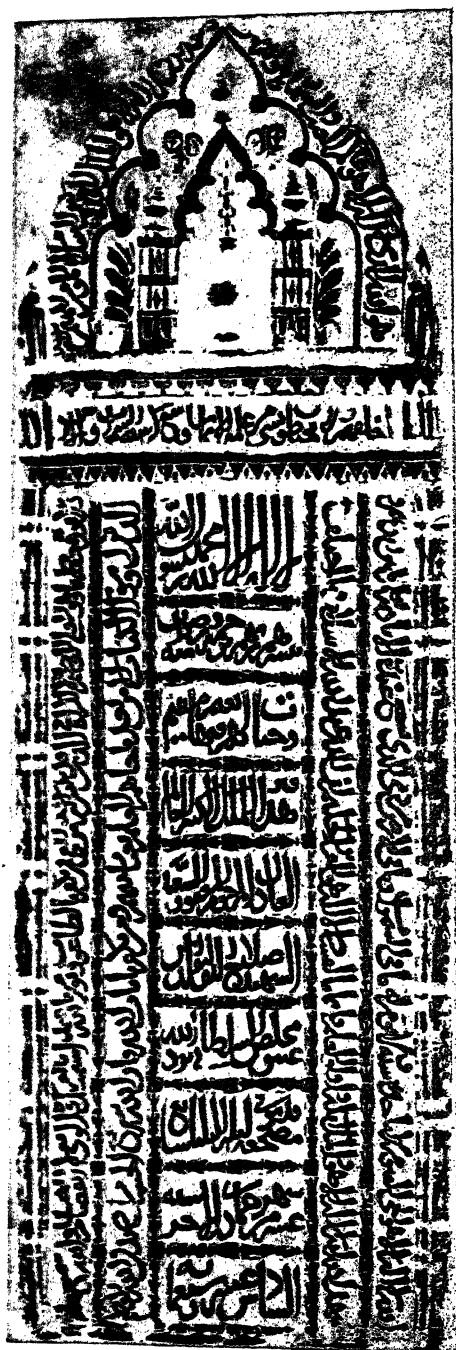
SCALE : ·28





(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 715 (p. 17)

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 716 (p. 19)



SCALE : .17



SCALE : .17

the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh.<sup>1</sup> Measuring 35 cm. in width and 70 cm. in height, the tablet was originally set up on the grave of Hājī son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, popularly known as 'Alamgar (lit. lance- or banner-maker), who died, according to the text, on Monday, 8th Ramaḍān 715 (6th December 1315). The tablet is comparatively small, and the design is also of the simple or onemargin variety. The text includes a Quranic verse and the First Creed.

That 'Alamgar was the family or professional name of the deceased is suggested by two more epitaphs, where too it occurs as a cognomen or surname. One of these (Inscription No. XXI, *infra*) mentions Ḥasan son of Abū Bakr 'Alamgar (d. A.H. 734),<sup>2</sup> and the other from Rānder near Surat records the name of Abū Bakr son of 'Uthmān 'Alamgar (d. A.H. 721).<sup>3</sup> In view of the surname and contemporaneity, Ḥasan may be taken to have been a son of Abū Bakr of Rānder, having survived his father by thirteen years, but Hājī of the record under study evidently was not a close relation, though he does appear to have belonged to the branch or at least the same professional guild as the other two.

'Alamgar literally means a lance- or banner-maker. It is very likely that this family was of Arab stock and its members were originally engaged in the manufacture of banners or lances and had either continued the vocation in India or were carrying on trade in its sale through local manufacture or import from Arabian countries, which were known for this industry.

The text of the epitaph, which is engraved in the same *Riq'at*-mixed *Naskh* in bold hand, is quoted below :—

## TEXT

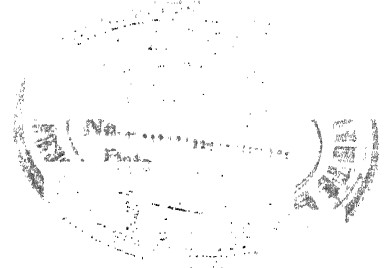
## Plate IV(b)

## (a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

## (b) Horizontal panels.

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- (٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- (٣) هذا قبر عبد الضعيف المرحوم المغفور
- (٤) حاجي بن محمد بن احمد المعروف علمگر
- (٥) برد الله مضجعه قد توفى يوم الاثنين ثامن
- (٦) من شهر رمضان سنة خمس وخمسين و سبعمائة



<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 126; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 21, where the popular name is wrongly given as 'Alamgir.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 73.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 37, plate XXI b, where the popular name 'Alamgar is doubtfully read and in the translation 'lance-maker (?) of Makka' is given. The name is clearly 'Alamgar and as to 'of Makka', there is no such *nisba* in the plate.

<sup>4</sup> This should be العبد .

## TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>1</sup>  
 (b) (1) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>  
 (2) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>  
 (3) This is the grave of the weak creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned,  
 (4) Hājī son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, popularly known as 'Alamgar (i.e. lance- or banner-maker),  
 (5) may Allāh render his sleeping-place cool. He died on Monday, the eighth  
 (6) of the month of Ramaḍān (of the) year (A.H.) fifteen and seven hundred (8 Ramaḍān 715=6 December 1315).

The sixth day of December of the year 1315, according to Ephemeris, was not Monday, but Saturday. This may perhaps be due to the calculations based on the actual sighting of the moon or the reckonings of the Calendar followed in the Arab countries.

## VIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 716 (1316 A.D.)

This is quite an interesting epitaph. It furnishes some important, though meagre, historical information, not found elsewhere. It mentions two persons, one-time master and slave who, judging from the titles and epithets appended to their names, held position of authority during their life-time.

The epitaph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet of marble, measuring 102 cm. from apex to bottom and 38 cm. at the base, which is fixed into the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid, ninth from right.<sup>4</sup> The text is executed in a slightly more elaborate and artistic way, but the somewhat crowded writing fails to produce the desired effect. The calligraphical style is the usual *Naskh* with strong *Riqā'* tendency.

The epitaph was intended for the grave of the great, the just and the learned Malik Ṣalāḥu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn who is reported to have met a martyr's death on Tuesday, the 17th<sup>5</sup> Jumādā II 716 (6th September 1316). The deceased's name and title are indicative of the high official status held by him in life. That he had risen to the position of a great Malik from that of a slave is clear from the fact that the text describes him as a freed slave of Mukhlis a's-Sultānī, who too, from his appellation a's-Sultānī appears to have been an official of high rank. It may be particularly noted that the deceased is stated to have been a man of great learning.

But it is unfortunate that we do not have more details about either the Malik or his one-time master or about their duties, place of postings, etc. For want of any such possible information it is not possible to say if the deceased had served his master in Gujarāt or elsewhere. Even then, its importance as a historical document of note is apparent, having preserved the name of an official of position who flourished during the early years of the consolidation of the Muslim rule in Gujarāt—having died hardly within two decades of the conquest of the province by 'Alāu'd-Dīn

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* has 18th which is a misprint.

Khaljī in 1297-98. This information is all the more valuable since contemporary, let alone later, historians give practically no information about the officials posted in the province. As it is, apart from one epigraph, dated 1314, mentioning the Gujarāt governor and two other officials, from Peṭlād,<sup>1</sup> not far from Cambay, it is only at Cambay that records preserving the names of officials who flourished within the first quarter of the Khaljī conquest of Gujarāt are found. It may be recalled here that in this town lies buried a governor (*hākīm*) of Cambay (*d.* 1299), probably its first.<sup>2</sup>

As usual the brief notice of the inscription as given in the Progress Report is confusing and incorrect: according to it, the tombstone belonged to 'Sālihud-dīn Ātīq who died on the 17th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 716 A.H. is styled Mukhlīq-i-Sultānī and was most probably an officer who had served Sultan 'Ālauddīn Muḥammad Khaljī of Delhi in person'.<sup>3</sup> This notice suffers from a number of inaccuracies, which can be corrected with the help of the text and translation quoted below:—

## TEXT

## Plate IV(a)

## (a) Arch-margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم] هو الله الذی لا اله  
الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن العزيز

## (b) Outer margin, under (a).

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض من  
ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء [ء] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظيم لا اکراه فی  
انذین قد تبین الرشید من الغی فمن یکفر بالطاغوت و یؤمن بالله فقد استمسک بالعروة الوثقی  
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع علیم

## (c) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولو [ا] العلم قایما بالقسط لا اله [الا] هو العزيز  
الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین او توا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاء [ء] هم  
العلم بغیا بینهم و من یکفر بایات الله فان الله سریع الحساب صدق الله العظيم

## (d) Horizontal panels.

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) یشهرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XI b.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 3-4, pl. I a.

<sup>3</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

- (٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم  
 (٤) هذا قبر الملك الكبير العالم  
 (٥) العادل المرحوم المغفور السعيد  
 (٦) الشهيد صلاح الدولة و الدين  
 (٧) عتيق مخلص السلطان يرد الله  
 (٨) مضجعه قد توفى ليلة الثلاثاء سابع  
 (٩) عشر من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة  
 (١٠) السادس عشر و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) 'He is Allāh besides whom there is no god : the Knower of the unseen and the seen ; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allāh, besides whom there is no god ; the King, the Holy, the Author of Peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty.'<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,<sup>3</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

(d) (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.<sup>5</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the great and learned Malik,

(5) the just, the one taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the fortunate,

(6) the martyr, Ṣalāḥu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. welfare of the State and Religion),

(7) the freed slave of Mukhlis a's-Sultānī, may Allāh render cool

(8) his resting-place. He died on the night of Tuesday, the seven-

(9) teenth of the month of Junādā al-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.)

(10) sixteen and seven hundred (17 Junādā II 716=6 September 1316).

## 1X. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 721 (1321 A.D.)

In general design as well as arrangement and execution of text, this epitaph resembles the preceding one to a fairly large extent. It also contains the same Quranic text with small additions in two three places. These facts may perhaps be indicative of a similar status of the deceased for whose grave this tombstone was intended.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

The tablet is as usual arch-shaped and measures 85 cm. from apex to bottom and 50 cm. in width. It is now preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh where it is built up, sixth from right, into the southern wall,<sup>1</sup> but it was originally meant to mark the grave of one Fakhrū'd-Dīn Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abū Bakr, popularly known as 'al-Qāḍī'l-Iṣfahānī' i.e. the Iṣfahānī Qāḍī, who is stated to have died a martyr on Sunday, the 25th Rabī' II 721 (24th May 1321).

The cognomen recorded in the text by which he was popularly known shows that the deceased discharged the duties of the local judge and might have headed the judicial department as it existed then. It also proclaims him not only to be of Iranian extraction but probably a fresh immigrant. Needless to say, whatever position he might have held in his time, he is not known from any other source.

The style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the text reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate V(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم هو] الله الذی لا  
اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهیمن العزیز

(b) *Outer margin.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض  
من ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء [ع] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم لا اکراه فی  
الدين قد تبین الرشید من الغی فمن یکفر بالطاغوت و یومن بالله فقد استمسک بالعروة الوثقی لا  
انفصام لها و الله سمیع علیم صدق الله

(c) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قایما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزیز  
الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بغیا بینهم و من یکفر بآیات الله فان الله سریع الحساب و ما محمد الا رسول

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۳) ینبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فیها نعیم

(۴) مقیم خالدین فیها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظیم

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. 13, 125; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 19.

- (٥) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور السعيد الشهيد فخر الدين  
 (٦) احمد بن حسين بن ابو بكر المعروف القاضي الاصفهاني  
 (٧) تغمده الله برحمته و غفر له و اسكنه بحبوة جناته توفى يوم  
 (٨) الاحد خامس و عشرون ربيع الآخر سنة احدى و عشرين و سبعماية

## TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.<sup>1</sup>  
 (b) *Ibid.*, Chapter II, verses 255-56,<sup>2</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.  
 (c) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>3</sup> 'And Muḥammad is no more than an apostle'.<sup>4</sup>  
 (d) (1) First Creed.<sup>5</sup>  
 (2) *Basmala*.<sup>6</sup>  
 (3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>7</sup>  
 (5) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the fortunate, the martyr, *Fakhrū'd-Dīn*  
 (6) Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abū Bakr commonly known as al-Qāḍī'u'l-Iṣfahānī (i.e. the Iṣfahānī Qāḍī or Qāḍī, originally from Iṣfahān).<sup>8</sup>  
 (7) may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pleasure and grant him abode in the centre of his Paradise. He died on Sun-  
 (8) day, twentyfifth (of the month of) Rabi' u'l-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.) one and twenty and seven hundred (25 Rabi' II 721=24 May 1321).

## X. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 728 (1327 A.D.)

This is yet another tombstone preserved in the Tomb of Pīr Parvāz *Shahīd*. It is arch-shaped, measuring 86 cm. from apex to bottom and 42 cm. in width and is embedded, first from right, into the eastern wall.<sup>9</sup> It more or less conforms, in general design and execution, to the other tombstones in this group.

The epitaph was originally set up on the grave of *Khawāja Kabīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad* son of *Maṣṣūr al-Kuhrāmī*, i.e. of *Kuhrām*, who died, according to the text, on Friday, 5th Muḥarram 728 (20th November 1327). The text contains nothing which could throw light on the life of the *Khawāja*; only his *nisba* al-Kuhrāmī can be taken to indicate that he hailed from *Kuhrām*, probably an important fort of that name (*Kohrām*) in the Panjab in the medieval period. If so,

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

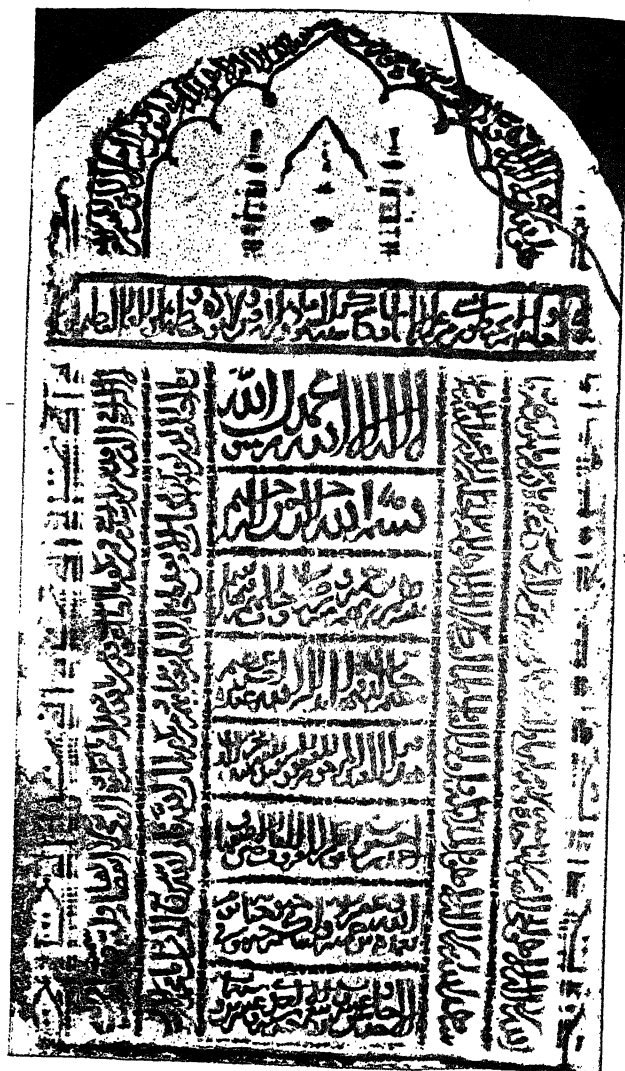
<sup>8</sup> Iṣfahān is the name of a famous city in Irān.

<sup>9</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 71, where it was stated to be in the northern wall.





(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 721 ( p. 21 )



SCALE : .15

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 728 ( p. 23 )



SCALE : .17

it would mean that though not a foreigner in the strict sense, he was a new comer to Cambay. Whether he came there in the capacity of an official, a mere visitor, or a trader, it is difficult to say. Nevertheless, the distinct reference to a North-Indian resident of Cambay, is not without historical interest.

The epitaph was briefly and correctly noticed in the Progress Report except that the *nisba* of the deceased is omitted there and the day of the month is stated to be 6th instead of 5th Muharram.<sup>1</sup>

The text is inscribed in the usual *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* style and has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(a)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم هو] الله الذی  
لا اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهیمن العزیز الجبار [لمتکبر...]

(b) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض  
من ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئ من علمه  
[الا] بما شاء [ه] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم صدق الله

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

i. Arch-base :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قل هو الله احد [الله] الصمد لم یلد ولم یولد ولم یکن له کفوا احد

ii. Below i :

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- (٢) یشرفهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فیها نعيم مقيم
- (٣) خالدين فیها ابدا ان الله عنده [ا] جر عظیم
- (٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الراجی الی رحمة ربه خواجه کبیر الدین
- (٥) محمد منصور الکهرامی تغمده الله برحمته و غفراته و اباحه بحبوبة جثائه قدتوفی
- (٦) یوم الجمعة الخامس من شهر المحرم سنة ثمان و عشرون و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 16.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 20.

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255,<sup>1</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(c) i. 'In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Say: He, Allāh, is One. He is He on whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He Begotten. And none is like Him.'<sup>2</sup>

ii. (1) First Creed.<sup>3</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>4</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the hope of the mercy of his Nourisher, *Khawāja Kabirū'd-Dīn*

(5) Muḥammad (son of) Maṣṣūr al-Kuhrāmī i.e. of Kuhrām, may Allāh cover him with mercy and pleasure and habitate him in the centre of His Paradise. He died

(6) on Friday, the fifth of the month of Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) eight and twenty : seven hundred (5 Muḥarram 728=20 November 1327).

#### XI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.)

The arch-shaped tablet on which this epitaph is inscribed measures 75 cm. in height and 35 cm. at the base and is built up in the southern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*.<sup>5</sup> It contains as usual, religious text, comprising in this case, in addition to the Quranic texts a saying of the Prophet on the transitoriness of the world. According to the epitaph, the grave belonged to Abū Bakr son of Aḥmad *alias* Lakariyā<sup>6</sup> a'r-Rānerī, i.e. of Rāner (Rānder), who died on the 13th Muḥarram 730 (16th November 1329).<sup>7</sup>

The deceased belonged, according to his *nisba*, to Rāner, which is the name used by the Arab writers for Rānder near Surat, across the River Tāpti. No other information about him or his vocation, etc., is furnished by the record or any other source. But the epigraph furnishes an important piece of information that the deceased was popularly known as *Lakariyā* which is a Gujarāṭī word meaning 'associated with or related to wood'. This *alias* may perhaps signify his profession—dealer in timber or so, or some trait or distinguishing character of his.

The style of writing is the *Riqā'*-mixed *Naskh* of more or less the same type as is found in Cambay epitaphs of the period.

The text reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VI(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی لا اله  
لا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهیمن العزیز الجبار

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter CXII.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

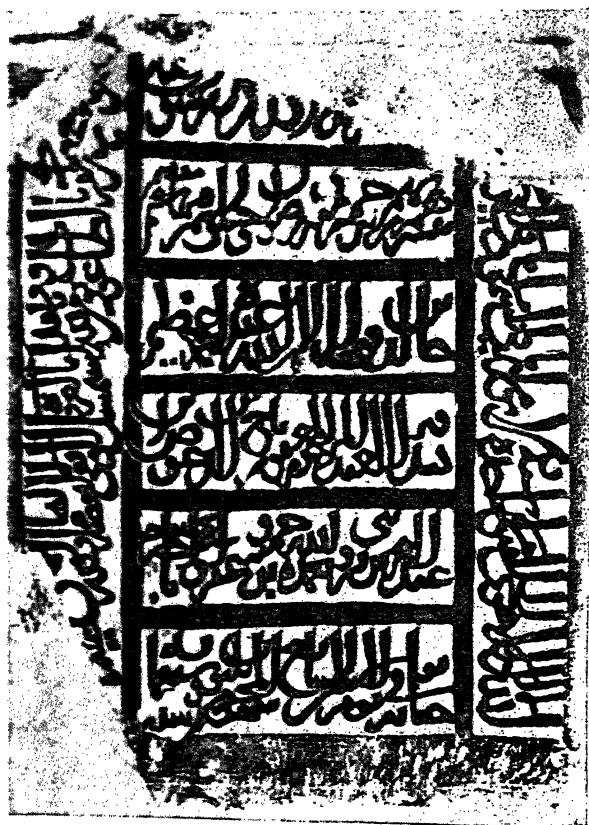
<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 70, where it was stated to be in the northern wall.

<sup>6</sup> In *ibid.*, the *alias* is given as Zakariyyā.

<sup>7</sup> In *PEWC*, 1919-20, p. 49. No. 11, an incomplete gist is given.



(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 730 ( p. 26 )



SCALE : .22

(b) Another epitaph of the same date ( p. 24 )



SCALE : .2

(b) *Outer margin and arch-base.*

و سيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤها و فتحت ابوابها و قال [لهم]  
 خزنتها سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوا [ها] خالدين و قالوا الحمد لله الذي صدقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض  
 فقبوا من [ال]جنة حيث نشاء فنعم اجر العاملين و ترى الملائكة حافين من حول العرش يسبحون  
 بحمد ربهم و قضى بينهم بالحق و قيل الحمد لله رب العالمين

(c) *Inner margin.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
 الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الا سلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا [ء]هم العلم  
 بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب صدق الله العظيم

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 (٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم  
 (٣) مقيم خالدين فيها ايدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم  
 (٤) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم كن في الدنيا  
 (٥) كأنك غريب او كعابرسبيل و عد نفسك من اصحاب القبور  
 (٦) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم ابو بكر بن احمد عرف لكريا الرانيري  
 (٧) نور الله قبره قد انتقل من دار الفنا يوم السبت الثالث عشر من  
 (٨) شهر المحرم سنة ثلاثون و سبعمائة و صلى الله على محمد

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.*<sup>1</sup>

(b) 'And those who are careful of (their duty to) their Lord shall be conveyed to the garden in companies ; until they come to it, and its doors shall be opened and the keepers of it shall say to them : Peace be on you, you shall be happy; therefore enter it to abide. And they shall say : (All) praise is due to Allāh, who has made good to us His promise, and He has made us inherit the land ; we may abide in the garden where we please ; so goodly is the reward of the workers. And *you shall* see the angels going round about the throne glorifying the praise of their Lord ; and judgment shall be given between them with justice, and it shall be said : All praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds.'<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Qur'ān, Chapter III, verses 17-18,*<sup>3</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.*

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

(d) (1) First Creed.<sup>1</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>2</sup>

(4-5) Tradition of the Prophet.<sup>3</sup>

(6) This is the grave of the creature received into (Allāh's) mercy, Abū Bakr son of Aḥmad *alias* Lakariyā a'r-Rānerī i.e. of Rāner,

(7) may Allāh illumine his grave. He passed away from the house of mortality on Saturday, the thirteenth of

(8) the month of Muḥarram (of the year A.H.) thirty and seven hundred (13 Muḥarram 730=16 November 1329).

13th Muḥarram of the Hijra year 730 fell on Monday and not on Saturday as stated in the text. This could be due to calculations as pointed out in a similar case in the previous lines.

## XII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.)

This damaged epigraph, noticed here for the first time, is engraved on a fragmentary arch-shaped tablet: its upper part is missing. Since in other respects, it conforms to the general type of tombstones from Cambay, the missing portion must have contained religious text.

The tablet is built up into the north wall of the Tomb of Buhlāl *Shahīd*, situated in the Tin Limdi or Chhipwād locality of the town.<sup>4</sup> The Tomb itself is a modern structure, being nothing more than a rectangular room, approximately 9 by 2.5 metres, and is situated just across the road, at the back of the mosque of the said locality. There is a loose tombstone lying in the Tomb which is also included in the present study (No. XXIX, *infra*).

The headstone originally belonged to the grave of one Tājū'd-Dīn 'Iwād son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Qazwīnī i.e. of Qazwīn, a famous town in Irān, who died on 7th Muḥarram 730 (31st December 1329). The deceased's name proper is written without any diacritical mark and was earlier read<sup>5</sup> as *Ghawwās* meaning a 'diver' (the *alif* of the word *ibn* preceding it was taken to belong to that name). But since the names vogue at this period as a rule were double, comprising both the title and the name proper (e.g. Kamālū'd-Dīn Sulaimān, Tājū'd-Dīn Muḥammad, etc.), and also since the *alif* is written across the word *bin* and after the word in question, the reading 'Iwād is preferable. The deceased was an Iranian immigrant to or settler in Cambay.

The epitaph is calligraphed in the same *Naskh* style bearing a greater resemblance to *Riqā'*. It reads as under:—

### TEXT

#### Plate VI(a)

##### (a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من الله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم [صدق الله العظيم]

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see pp. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 107. It measures 37 cm. by 47 cm.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



(b) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) [لا إله] إلا الله [محمد] رسول الله

(٢) يبشروهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٣) خالدين فيها ايدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور تاج الدين عوض ابن

(٥) عبد العزيز قزويني تغمد الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بجبوحه

(٦) جنازه توفي يوم الاثنين السابع شهر المحرم سنة ثلثون و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56 (middle portion lost);<sup>1</sup> this was probably followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>3</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Tājū'd-Dīn 'Iwāḍ son of

(5) 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Qazwīnī (i.e. of Qazwīn), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre

(6) of His Paradise. He died on Monday, the seventh (of the) month of Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) thirty and seven hundred (7 Muḥarram 730=31 December 1329).

## XIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1330 A.D.)

This is also one of the epitaphs preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*, where its arch-shaped tablet, measuring 100 cm. from apex to bottom and 45 cm. in width is built up into the eastern wall, eighth from the right side.<sup>4</sup>

In general design and arrangement this epitaph conforms to the ornate variety of the group dealt with in this article. From the text, it appears that it was originally set up on the grave of one Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Umar son of Sa'dat-Tifīsi (in Georgia), who had died on Wednesday the 11th *Shā'bān* 730 (30th May 1330). The deceased, thus, originally belonged to Tiflis, that is to say modern Tbilisi—the capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. It would be perfectly safe to presume that he was one of the foreign merchants stationed at Cambay.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 127. It is the same as *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 22, where it was stated to pertain to 'Tajuddin Umar bin Saiyad Asālini (?)', and the year of demise was quoted as A.H. 720.

The style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* of the same variety as in other epitaphs under study, and the text has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate VII(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی  
لا اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهیمن العزیز الجبار المتکبر

(b) *Outer margin, including arch-base.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض  
من ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئی من  
علمه الا بما شاء [ء] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یوده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم لا اکراه  
فی الدین قد تبین الرشید من النبی فمن یکفر بالطاغوت و یؤمن بالله فقد استمسک بالعروة الوثقی  
لا انفصام لها و الله سمیع علیم

(c) *Vertical panels.*

و سیق الذین اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتی اذا جاوها و فتحت ابوابها و قال لهم خزنتها  
سلام علیکم طبتم فادخلوها خالدین و قالوا الحمد لله الذی صدقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض نتبوا  
من الجنة حیث نشاء [ء] فنعم اجر العاملين و ترے الملائكة حافین من حول العرش یسبحون بحمد  
ربهم وقضے یبذلهم بالحق و قیل الحمد لله رب العالمین

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۳) یشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و

(۴) جنات لهم فیها نعیم مقیم خالدین فیها

(۵) ایدا ان الله عنده اجر عظیم

(۶) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور سراج الدین

(۷) عمر ابن سعد التفلیسی تغمده الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بحیوة

(۸) جنازه توفی يوم الاربعاء الحادى عشر من شهر شعبان سنة

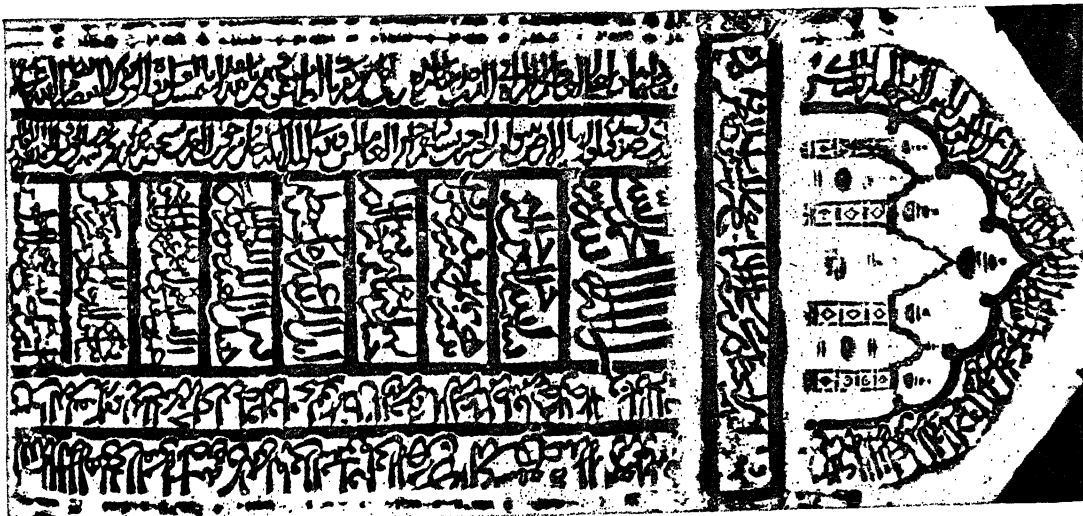
(۹) ثلاثون و سبعماية و صلی الله علی محمد و اله اجمعین

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 731 ( p. 30 )



SCALE : .2

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 730 ( p. 28 )



SCALE : .14



## TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) *Ibid.*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.<sup>3</sup>
- (d) (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) *Basmala*.<sup>5</sup>
- (3-5) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>6</sup>
- (6) This is the grave of the creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Sirājū'd-Dīn.
- (7) 'Umar son of Sa'd a't-Tifisi i.e. of Tifis (modern Tbilisi), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre of
- (8) His Paradise. He died on Wednesday the eleventh of the month of *Sha'bān* (of the) year (A.H.)
- (9) thirty and seven hundred (11 *Sha'bān* 731=30 May 1330). And Allāh's salutations be on Muḥammad and his progeny, all of them.

## XIV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1330 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary tombstone built into the west wall of the mosque in the quarter of the town called Farasपुर or Pirasपुर,<sup>7</sup> which is locally believed to have been a corrupt form of Pīrūzpur or Firūzpur so called after either Firūz Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty, or after some local official or man of note. The mosque itself is a modern structure, and this as well as another epitaph, included in the present study (No. XXVII, *infra*) which is also built up into the same place, were apparently brought to this mosque to save them from disappearance or damage.

The arched portion of the tablet is lost. The writing is also badly affected by prolonged exposure to elements of nature, neglect over centuries and perhaps hand of vandal too. The result is that the letters are damaged in many places, particularly in the horizontal panels where the epitaph proper occurs. It is on this account that the name, the title and the *nisba* of the deceased as also the name of his father, etc., which are usually met with in such epitaphs are illegible. However, the name has been tentatively read as al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm while that of his grandfather as Muṣliḥ. The deceased is stated to have departed from this world on the 5th Rabi' I 731 (17th December 1330).

This epigraph also does not seem to have come to the notice of the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India or any other agency earlier.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 20; the Quranic verse is continued to two words further, meaning 'the Supreme, the Possessor of every greatness'.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 99.

Its style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*. Its text is quoted below :—

## TEXT

## Plate VII(a)

## (a) Outer margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى..... بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى  
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم صدق الله

## (b) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قاىما بالقسط لا اله الا هو.....  
الامن بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب و ما محمد الا  
رسول

## (c) Horizontal panels.

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
(٢) يبشركم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها  
(٣) نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها اى ان الله عنده اجر عظيم  
(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الحاج ابراهيم (٤) بن.....  
(٥) مصلح..... تعلمه الله برحمته  
(٦) و غفر انه توفى يوم الاربعاء خامس من ربيع الاول سنة احدى ثلثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56 (middle portion lost),<sup>1</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18 (middle portion lost).<sup>2</sup> 'And Muḥammad is no more than a prophet'.<sup>3</sup>

(c) (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>5</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm(?) son of.....

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

(5) Muṣliḥ .....may Allāh cover him with His mercy

(6) and pardon. He died on Wednesday, the fifth of Rabī'u'l-Awwal (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (5 Rabī' I 731=17 December 1330).

#### XV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A. D.)

This tombstone is built up, fifth from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid<sup>1</sup> and measures 25 by 47 cm. The writing at the top in the arched margin is slightly damaged.

The epitaph was originally placed on the grave of a man well-versed in Islamic lore, for, the text calls him the greatest Imām Maulānā Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Jauhar al-Fārsī (i.e. of Fārs or Irān proper),<sup>2</sup> who died on Saturday, the 24th Rajab 731 (3rd May 1331). From the epithets used with his name, it would appear that the Maulānā was considered to be a man of learning and erudition and was respected as a great savant. His *nisba* indicates his Iranian origin if not birth. It would be futile, as usual, to expect any details about the Maulānā from any other source. As it is, the epigraph under study is the only document which has preserved even his name for posterity.

This epigraph was noticed in the Progress Report where the Maulānā's name has been correctly read, but the date is stated to have been lost.<sup>3</sup> This is rather inexplicable as the date is very much there and quite distinct too. The tablet is small and the design is also simple reflecting very probably, one is tempted to feel, the simplicity of the deceased's life. The script is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the text has been deciphered as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate VIII(a)

##### (a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا.....  
.....جا[ء]هم العلم بغيا بينهم و من يكفر يايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب ص[دق الله]

##### (b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشروهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها

(٣) نعيم مقيم هذ[ا] قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقير الى الله

(٤) تعالى مولانا امام الاعظم محمد ابن احمد الجوهر الفارسي تغمده الله برحمته و

(٥) غفرانه توفي يوم السبت رابع و عشرين من شهر رجب سنة احد و ثلثين و سبعمائة

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D. 82, where it is wrongly stated to be in the west wall.

<sup>2</sup> The present Fārs province of Irān with Shīrāz as its capital.

<sup>3</sup> *PWOC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 6.

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18 (middle portion lost),<sup>1</sup> followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.<sup>3</sup> This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, one who is supplicant of Allāh

(4) the Exalted, *Maḥlānā* (lit. our master), the greatest Imām Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Jauhar (lit. related to or associated with Jauhar i.e. essence) al-Fārsī (lit. of Fārs i.e. Irān proper), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and

(5) pardon. He died on Saturday the twentyfourth of the month of Rajab (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (24 Rajab 731=3 May 1331).

## XVI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A.D.)

This epitaph is almost of the same design as the preceding one, but is larger in size. It is also preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid where it may be seen built up, second from left, in the southern wall.<sup>4</sup> The tablet, slightly damaged at the top, is arch-shaped, measuring 60 cm. in height and 36 cm. in width.

The epitaph states that the grave—for which it was obviously meant—contained the remains of one Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī son of Najīb son of Ḥamid al-Hanjūrī, who is stated to have expired on the 8th *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 731 (14th August 1331). The *nisba* is indicative of the deceased's foreign origin, but due to lack of reference books here at Nāgpur, it is not possible to locate the place to which he originally belonged. Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī was evidently one of the fraternity of foreign settlers in the town carrying on trade or following some similar vocation.

The epigraph was also noticed in the Progress Report where, the name of the deceased's father and his *nisba* were wrongly read. According to this notice, the epitaph records the death of one 'Zainudin 'Alī bin Mujīb bin Jahān-ul-Hanjawīnī'.<sup>5</sup> The similarity between the place-name Hanjawīn indicated by this wrongly read *nisba* and the name of the town Hamyamana or Hunjamana mentioned in two Sanskrit copper-plate grants of the Silāhāra dynasty of Kōnkan gave rise to the speculation that the name mentioned in the Arabic inscription may be the same as Hamyamana. It was also suggested in the same notice that it may be from this Hanjawan<sup>6</sup> or Hamjaman that Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī's father may have migrated to Cambay.<sup>7</sup>

In view of the fact that the place-name mentioned in the epigraph is clearly Hanjūr or Hanjwar,<sup>8</sup> this identification loses whatever validity it might have had. I take the town to be positively non-Indian, though at the moment, for the reason stated above, I am unable to indicate its geographical position.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 72, where it is stated to be in the west wall.

<sup>5</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 14.

<sup>6</sup> This has been wrongly identified with modern Sanjār or the basis of the Pārsī legends (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, pp. 258 ff).

<sup>7</sup> *PRWC* (1919-20), pp. 57-58.

<sup>8</sup> For want of diacritical marks, its exact pronunciation cannot be determined. It could also be Hanjaur, Hinjaur, Hinjūr and Hinjwar, but it is obvious that it has nothing to do with Hanjawīn or Hamjamana.



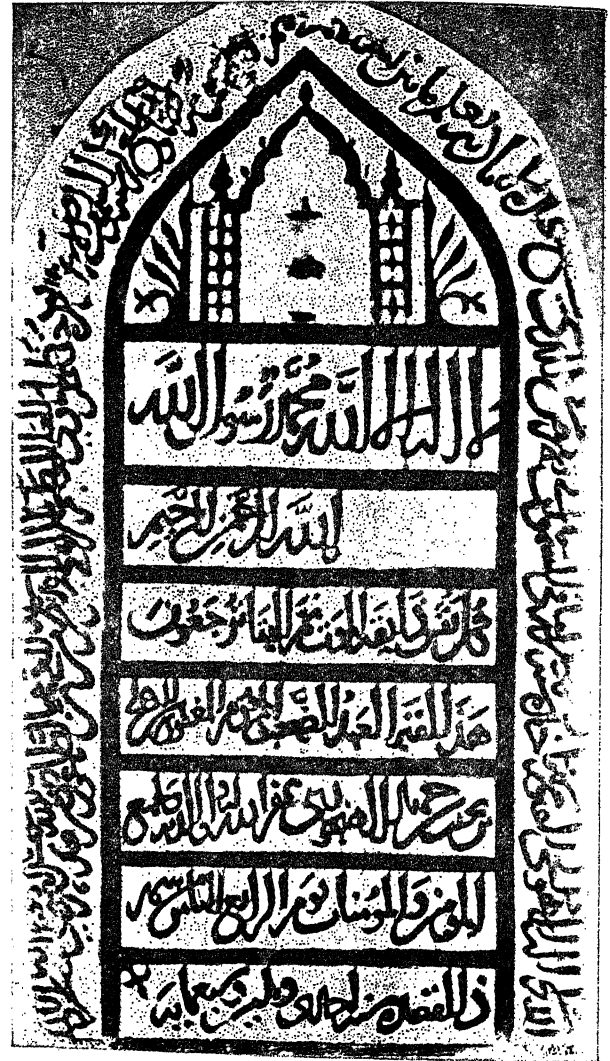


(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 731 ( p. 31 )



SCALE : -3

(b) Third epitaph dated A.H. 731 ( p. 33 )



SCALE : -22

The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh*. The text reads as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate VIII(b)

(a) *Margin*.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم [و ما] خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء [ء] وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه فى  
الدين قد تبين الرشيد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا  
انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(b) *Horizontal panels*.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) [بسم] الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت ثم اليها ترجعون

(٤) هذا القبر (كذا) العبد الضعيف المرحوم المقتفور زين الدين على

(٥) بن نجيب بن حميد الهنجورى غفر الله له و لوالديه و لجميع

(٦) المومنين و المومنات يوم الرابع الثامن من شهر

(٧) ذالقعده سنة احدى و ثلاثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.<sup>1</sup>

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>

(2) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>

(3) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to Us you shall be brought back.'<sup>4</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the weak creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī

(5) son of Najīb son of Ḥamid al-Hanjūrī, may Allāh forgive him, his parents and all the

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIX, verse 57.

(6) faithful men and women. (He died) on Wednesday, the eighth of the month of

(7) Dhu'l-Qa'da (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (8 Dhu'l-Qa'da 731= 14 August 1331).

#### XVII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A.D.)

This arch-shaped tombstone, also from the Tomb of Parvāz Shahīd, is built up, tenth from right, into the eastern wall and measures 1 metre from apex to bottom and 47 cm. in width. It was intended for the grave of one Khawāja Shihābū'd-Dīn Aḥmad son of 'Umar al-Humāmī who died on Sunday the 19th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 731 (24 August 1331).

From the text, it is difficult to say anything definite about the social or professional status of the late Khawāja, but if the fact that in general design and execution, the epitaph belongs to the ornate type, is any indication, the deceased was a man of standing. The surname Khawāja prefixed to his name may also be reasonably taken to indicate that Shihābū'd-Dīn belonged to the respectable class of traders. That he was also a foreigner is clear from his *nisba*, though for want of reference books, its exact connotation cannot be determined.

The epigraph was also noticed in the Progress Report, where the *nisba* is doubtfully read as Harānī and the day as Saturday.<sup>2</sup>

The script employed is the same stylish *Riq'a*-like *Naskh* which while conforming in general to the characteristics of most of the epitaphs of the town, is in particular akin to that of the previous epitaph. The text has been deciphered as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate IX(a)

##### (a) Arched margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم الملک القدوس  
السلام المومن

##### (b) Outer margin and arch-base.

وسیق الذین اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زورا حتی اذا جاؤا و فتحت ابوابها و قال لهم خولتها  
سلام علیکم طبتکم فادخلوها خالدین و قالوا الحمد لله الذی صدقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض تنبؤا من  
الجنة حیث نشاء فذم اجر العاملین و ترے الملائكة حافین من حول العرش یسبحون بحمد ربهم  
و قضی بینهم بالحق و قیل الحمد لله رب العالمین

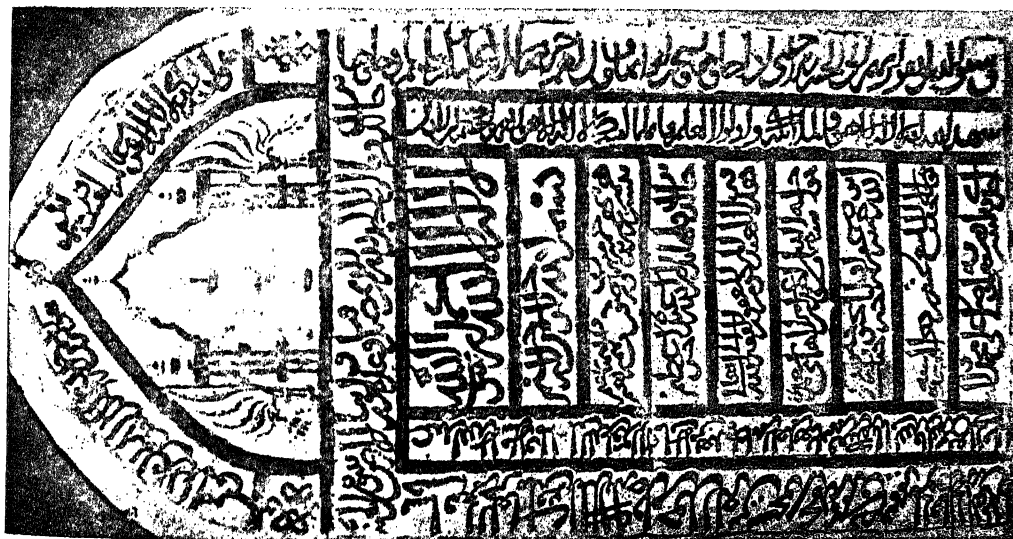
##### (c) Vertical panels; left and right.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولو العلم قایما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزیز  
الحکیم ان الذین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم  
بنعما بینهم و من یکفر بآیات الله فان الله سریع الحساب

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D 129.

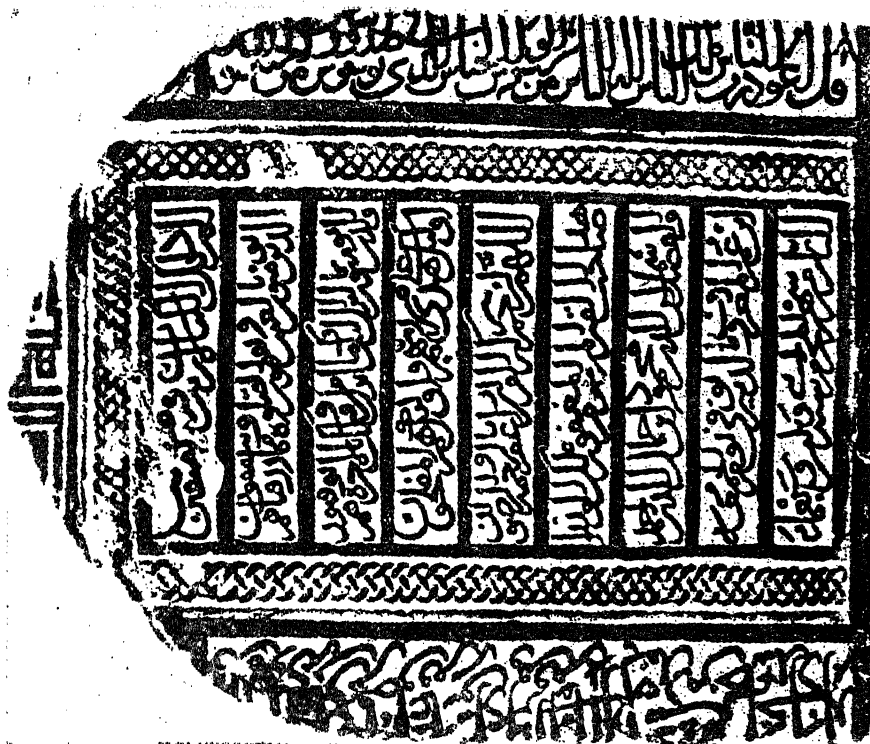
<sup>2</sup> *PEWC*, 1919-20, p 49, No. 2.

(a) Fourth epitaph dated A.H. 731 ( p. 34 )



SCALE : '15

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 732 ( p. 37 )



SCALE : '18



(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنت لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(۴) خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(۵) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقير الى الله تعالى

(۶) خواجه شهاب الدين احمد ابن عمر الهمامي تغمده

(۷) الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بحبوحه جناحه قد توفى

(۸) يوم الاحد التاسع عشر من ذى القعدة سنة

(۹) احدى و ثلثين و سبعمائة و صلى على محمد و اله

#### TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.<sup>2</sup>

(c) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>3</sup>

(d) (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Basmala*.<sup>5</sup>

(3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>6</sup>

(5) This is the grave of the creature, taken into Allāh's mercy and pardoned, one who is dependent of Allāh,

(6) *Khawja Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad* son of 'Umar al-Hunāmī, may Allāh cover him

(7) with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre of His Paradise. He died

(8) on Sunday, the nineteenth of (the month of) *Dhu'l-Qa'da* (of the) year (A.H.)

(9) one and thirty and seven hundred (19 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 731=24 August 1331). And may (Allāh's) salutation be on Muḥammad and his progeny !

#### XVIII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 732 (1331 A.D.)

This is an historically important record which was set up to mark the last resting-place of a high official, about whom nothing is known from any other source. That the importance of

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 20 (upto 'Granter of security' with some portion missing).

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

the record was not realised so far is not due to lack of the knowledge of its existence. As a matter of fact, it happens to be one of the tombstones listed in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, but due perhaps to the incorrect decipherment of its text, the true identity of the deceased remained unestablished. The tombstone was described in the said report as that of Shamsuddin Maḥmūd son of Jamāl-ud-dīn Aḥmad bin 'Umar al-mārūf (?) ad-dīn.<sup>1</sup> According to our reading, the text states that the grave contained the remains of the 'Prince among ministers and accomplished men' Shamsu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Jamālū'd-Dīn Aḥmad son of 'Umar, commonly known as the 'Dabīr' i.e. Secretary. He is stated to have died on Friday, the 8th of Muḥarram 732 (11th October 1331).

The deceased thus held a fairly high official position in his life-time. He worked, as the sobriquet 'Dabīr' implies, in the epistolary department with the rank of minister. Whether he acted as Secretary at the Imperial court or in the provincial administration, it is neither clear from the text, nor is it possible to ascertain, but from the title 'prince of ministers' used for him, it may be inferred that he was an imperial officer. Again, it is difficult to say if he was posted at Cambay, the place of his burial and presumably that of his death too, or he had been here on a short visit. In any case, the inscription furnishes the information, not to be found elsewhere, about a Tughluqian official: that he is called prince among the ministers and accomplished men and a Secretary shows that he was not only adept in the art of *belles lettres*, but was also celebrated for learning. The text unfortunately offers no clue as to his nationality or place of origin. The absence of any *nisba* should perhaps be reasonably taken to indicate his Indian stock.

The arch-shaped headstone bearing the record, which is built up, fifth from right, into the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shahīd,<sup>2</sup> is fragmentary: measuring in its present state 53 cm. by 65 cm., almost whole of the arched portion of the original tablet at the top is gone, and consequently, the texts contained in the arched margin and within the arch, if any, and greater portion of the *Basmala* are lost. It is difficult to determine the cause of the damage, natural or otherwise, but it is almost perfectly arch-shaped even now. As was pointed out in the case of another tombstone from the same premises, published earlier,<sup>3</sup> it is normally observed that when a tablet is broken by accident or through natural causes, it does not take arched shape, though the broken tablet may be so refashioned at the time of its letting up into the wall. But we have quite a few fragmentary tomb-stones which have not been so treated. Another possibility is that the reverse was used at one stage or the other for a fresh epitaph, for which the new arch-shape was given, but this cannot be ascertained unless the tablet is dislodged.

From the artistic point of view, the tablet is a little more ornate resembling somewhat in visual effect and design to the tombstone of another official of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, namely Malik Parvīz al-Kāzarūnī (pl. Xb, *infra*). A thick panel of arabesque contrasts the horizontal panels with the margin enclosing them, and the text also has some variety—it contains a totally different set of Quranic text. The obituary also is differently worded: instead of the usual commencing phrase indicating the grave, it starts with a prayer invoking mercy and pardon for the deceased.

In the style of writing, too, there is a slight variety. While the bulk of the text is inscribed in the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh*, the *Basmala* has been executed in artistic *Kūfī* of the florid variety.

<sup>1</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 124.

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23, fn.4.



The text has been deciphered as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate IX (b)

(a) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

قل اعوذ برب الناس ملك الناس اله الناس من شر الوسواس الخناس الذى يوسوس فى صدور الناس من الجنة و الناس - قل اعوذ برب الفلق من شر ما خلق و من شر غاسق اذا وقب و من شر النفاثات فى العقد و من شر حاسد اذا حسد

(b) *Arch-base.*

(١) [بسم الله] [الرحمن الرحيم]

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) الم ذلك الكتاب لاريب فيه هدى للمتقين  
 (٢) الذين يؤمنون بالغيب و يقيمون الصلوة و مما رزقناهم ينفقون  
 (٣) و الذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك و ما انزل من قبلك و بالآخرة هم يوقنون  
 (٤) اولئك على هدى من ربهم و اولئك هم المقفحون  
 (٥) اللهم ارحم ببركة القرآن و اغفر بالرحمة و الرضوان  
 (٦) صاحب هذا القبر المرحوم المغفور ملك الوزرا  
 (٧) و الفضلا شمس الدين محمود ابن جمال الدين احمد  
 (٨) ابن عمر المعروف بالديبر توفى يوم الجمعة  
 (٩) الثامن من شهر المحرم سنة اثنى و ثلاثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) 'Say, I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the king of men, the God of men, from the evil of the whisperings of the slinking (devil), who whispers into the hearts of men, from among the jinn and the men.'

'Say : I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn, from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the utterly dark night when it comes, and from the evil of those who cast (evil suggestions) in firm resolutions and from the evil of the envious when he envies.'

(b) *Basmala.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter CXIV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter CXIII.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

(c) (1-4) 'I am Allāh, the best Knower. This book, there is no doubt in it, is a guide to those who guard (against evil), those who believe in the unseen and keep up prayer and spend out of what we have given them; and who believe in that which has been revealed to you and that which was revealed before you, and they are sure of the hereafter. These are on the right course from their Lord, and these it is that shall be successful'.<sup>1</sup>

(5) O Lord, have mercy through the blessings of the *Qur'ān* on, and give pardon through (Thy) mercy and pleasure, to

(6) the occupant of this grave, the one taken into (Thy) mercy, the pardoned, Malikul-Wuzarā

(7) wa'l-Fudalā (lit. prince among the ministers and accomplished men) Shamsu'd-Din Maḥmūd son of Jamālu'd-Din Aḥmad

(8) son of 'Umar, commonly known as the Dabīr (lit. Secretary). He died on Friday,

(9) the eighth of the month of Muḥarrar, year (A.H.) two and thirty and seven hundred (8 Muḥarrar 732=11 October 1331).

#### XIX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 732 (1331 A.D.)

This headstone, fixed into the left *mihrāb* of the one-wall open mosque situated just outside the Tomb of Parvāz Shahīd and to its south-east, is quite different in design from the preceding ones.<sup>2</sup> Its small rectangular tablet, which is 25 cm. in width and 32 cm. in height, appears at first sight to be in tact, but the text in the margins comprising First Creed and a Quranic verse is incomplete and therefore, it is very likely that originally there was a little more portion at the top, which is now lost.

The epitaph suffers badly in comparison with its class, in visual effect. The panelling is not bad, but the style of writing is plain or rather quite inartistic *Naskh*. Likewise, the composition of the Arabic text too is not happy.

The epitaph records the death of one Qāsi n son of 'Īsā who died on one of the Fridays of the month of Muḥarrar of the year 732— day of the month is not given (Muḥarrar 732=October 1331).

The text reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate X (a)

#### (a) Margin.

#### i. Right :

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

#### ii. Left :

الا وجهه ثم اليها ترجعون

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 133.

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ  
 (٣) ثُمَّ إِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ  
 (٤) ذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ مِنْ شَهْرِ  
 (٥) الْمُحَرَّمِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ سَنَةِ  
 (٦) سَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَ ثَلَاثِينَ وَ اثْنًا  
 (٧) قَاسِمِ ابْنِ عَيْسَى نُورِ اللَّهِ قَبْرُهُ<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- (a) i. 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh.....'<sup>2</sup>  
 ii. '.....except His Face.<sup>3</sup> Then to Us you shall be brought back.'<sup>4</sup>  
 (b) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>5</sup>  
 (2-3) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to Us you shall be brought back.'<sup>6</sup>  
 (4) This (was) on the date in the month of  
 (5) Muḥarra, Friday, year (A.H.)  
 (6) seven hundred and thirty and two (Muḥarra 732=October 1331).  
 (7) Qāsim son of 'Isā, may Allāh illumine his grave, (died).

## XX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 734 (1333 A.D.)

This is perhaps the most pleasing epitaphic headstone of the whole lot to look at. It is remarkable for its overall symmetry, pleasing shape of the arch, impressive panelling and artistic borders all round in geometric designs. Also, it is one of the few epitaphs, if not the only one, of the present group that is *in situ*. The beautiful grave of marble to which the headstone of the same material is attached is remarkable for its execution of artistic mouldings and panellings and lies in the centre of an imposing Tomb jutting out from the middle of the southern wall of the stately Jāmi' Mosque of the town. The area in which the Tomb is situated stretches along the south side of the mosque and has an imposing entrance in the centre of the south face. The entire area measures about 62 by 15 metres. At the west is the mosque belonging to the tomb, and as it stands to-day may be considered as a continuation of the Jāmi' Mosque through the parti-

<sup>1</sup> This word is engraved in the left bottom corner panel of the margin.

<sup>2</sup> Second Creed. The remaining part in its English translation would read : Who is one and has no partner and I bear witness that Muhammad is His creature and apostle.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88. The missing phrase of this verse is : Everything will perish.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter XXIX, part of verse 57.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIX verse 57.

tion wall; the mosque and the Tomb were roofed but the rest of this court is open.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the large and striking dome with a diameter of 11.8 metres which was originally carried on tall pillars to cover the Tomb has fallen. Nevertheless, the Tomb is, like the Mosque, architecturally important in so much as it has preserved one of the few specimens of early tomb-architecture in Gujarāt, which provides a useful and instructive link for the proper study of the origin and development of pre-Mughal architecture of Gujarāt. There is inside the enclosure another similarly executed fine, but smaller grave which also has an inscribed headstone of marble (No. XXVIII, *infra*).

This epitaph is inscribed on the headstone attached to the larger grave,<sup>2</sup> which as stated earlier, belongs to the ornate variety of the tombstones and is characterised, apart from some distinguishing features referred to above, by some variety of religious text also. But in the style of writing, it more or less conforms to the prevalent design at Cambay except that, as in the case of the fragmentary epitaph of another state official, *Shamsu'd-Din Maḥmūd* the Secretary, studied above (No. XVIII, *supra*), the *Basmala* here is executed in florid *Kūfī* script.

The record states that the grave belongs to the fortunate martyr, prince among the princes of the East and ministers, one who was wellknown in India as well as Arab countries, *Zakīu'd-Daulat wa'd-Din 'Umar* son of *Aḥmad al-Kāzarūnī* entitled *Parviz Malik*, who expired on Wednesday, 9th *Ṣafar* 734 (22nd October 1333).

The published text of the inscription prepared by the late E. Rehatsek from the facsimile supplied by James Burgess, on which subsequent notices of the epitaph are based, contains two serious errors: the word *Sharq* in the title *Malik-i-Mulūki' sh-Sharq* and the title *Parviz Malik* of the deceased have been wrongly read as *Sarwar* (translated as 'prince') and *Zauru'l-Malik*.<sup>3</sup>

It may be recalled here that until this epigraph was discussed by us,<sup>4</sup> the identity of the *Malik* had not been established. Indian chronicles have totally ignored him like many others of his ilk. But fortunately, he has been mentioned by the celebrated fourteenth century Moroccan traveller *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* who was in Cambay within a decade of *Maliku'sh-Sharq's* death. As usual *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* furnishes information about him,<sup>5</sup> which stands corroborated by the present record.

According to this, he was called *Maliku't-Tujjār*<sup>6</sup> *al-Kāzarūnī* and was surnamed *Parviz*, *Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh* had assigned to him the city of Cambay as an *iqṭā'* and had promised him charge of a vezirate; about this time, at the instance of the *Maliku't-Tujjār*, his friend and fellow-countryman *Shihābu'd-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī* came from Irān, equipped with presents for the *Sultān* (of which the details are given). When he arrived at Cambay, he found the *Maliku't-Tujjār* preparing to leave for Delhi with all the revenue collected from the territories under his charge together with presents. But on his way, he was killed by some mischievous persons at

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description, plan, illustration, etc., of the Tomb, see J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bhroch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat* (London, 1896), pp. 27-28, plates XVIII and XXII-XXIV. A detailed description of the Jami' Mosque is also given there.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 45.

<sup>3</sup> J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, etc. (Bombay, 1897), p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, p. 21.

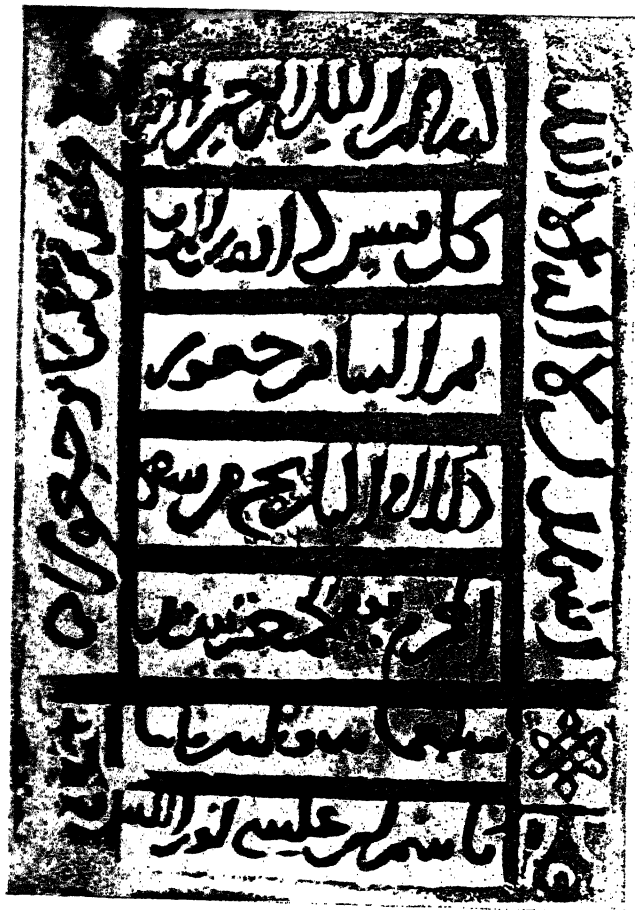
<sup>5</sup> Dr. Maḥdī Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Baroda, 1953), pp. 67-68, 173.

<sup>6</sup> According to *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 'majority of its inhabitants (i.e. of Cambay) are foreign merchants, who continually build there beautiful houses and wonderful mosques—an achievement in which they endeavour to surpass each other' (*ibid.*, p. 172).



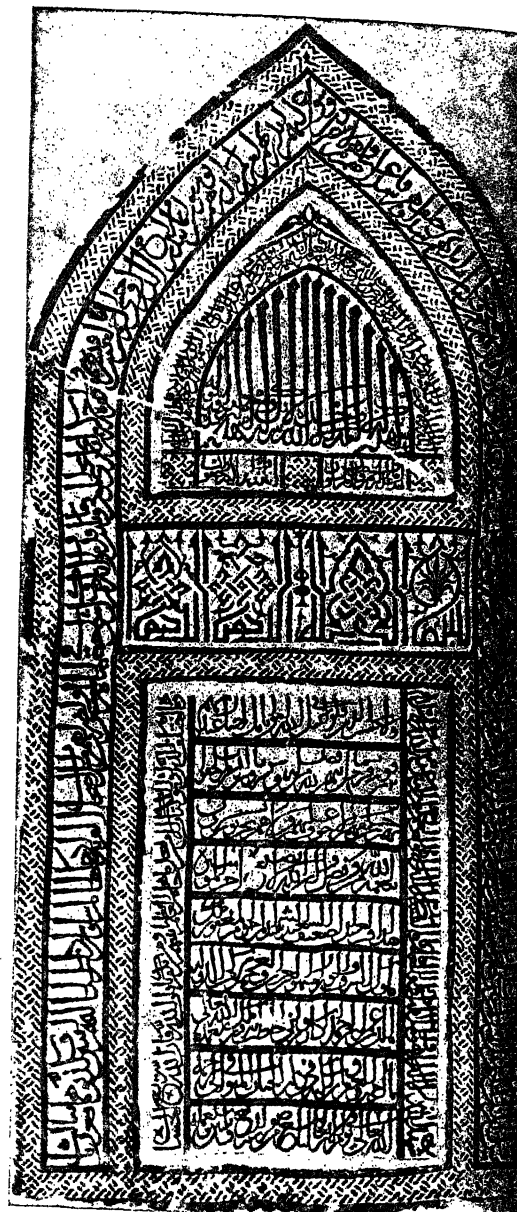
PLATE X

(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 732 ( p. 38 )



SCALE : 37

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 734 ( p. 41 )



SCALE : 11

the instigation of the prime-minister Khwāja Jahān who had great influence there, having administered the province including Cambay for quite some time and therefore having become jealous and worried because of the Sultān's promise to raise the Malikū't-Tujjār to the vezirate.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Battūṭa's account thus authenticates the high sounding title Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq wa'l-Wuzarā and his title-name Malik Parvīz employed in the text and also the manner of his death, that is, martyrdom. On the other hand, the epigraph furnishes some new information: for example it gives his full name and personal title, Zakīu'd-Dīn 'Umar, his father's name Aḥmad and quotes the exact day, date, month and year of his death. But neither Ibn Battūṭa nor our record specifies the place of death, which was at some distance from Cambay. The house of the Malikū't-Tujjār, reckoned among the grand buildings of Cambay by Ibn Battūṭa was, according to the same authority, adjacent to his mosque.<sup>2</sup> This mosque must definitely be other than the Jāmi' Mosque which was built, according to its inscription, about a decade earlier by (Malik) Daulatshah Muḥammad Būtahārī,<sup>3</sup> but it could have been in the immediate neighbourhood, as the practice of selecting one's own house or mosque for the last resting-place has been not so uncommon.

Incidentally, there are two more epigraphs at Cambay which mention al-Kāzarūnī: one is the epitaph of his wife Fāṭima who lies buried in the smaller grave in the tomb-enclosure (No. XXVIII, *infra*) and the other furnishes the information that a former slave of his, Khālīs by name, had set up a marble prayer-niche of a mosque at Cambay itself in A.H. 726 (1326 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

The headstone is arch-shaped, measuring 145 cm. from apex to bottom and 70 cm. at the base. The letters are slightly affected by weather, but the text is perfectly legible.

## TEXT

## Plate X (b)

## (a) Margin.

يس و القرآن الحكيم انك لمن المرسلين على صراط مستقيم تنزيل العزيز الرحيم لتنذر قوما  
ما انذر آباؤهم فهم غافلون لقد حق القول على اكثرهم فهم لا يؤمنون انا جعلنا في اعناقهم  
اغلا لا فهم الى الاذقان فهم مقمحون وجعلنا من بين ايديهم سدا ومن خلفهم سدا فاغشينهم  
فهم لا يبصرون و سوا [ء] عليهم [ء] انذرتهم ام لم تنذرهم لا يؤمنون انما تنذر من اتبع الذكر و  
خشى الرحمن بالغيب فبشره بمغفرة و اجر كريم انا نحن نحي الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و  
اثارهم و كل شئ احصيناه في امام مبين و اضرب لهم مثلا اصحاب القرية اذ جا [ء] ها المرسلون  
اذ ارسلنا اليهم اثنين فكذبوهما فعززنا بثالث

<sup>1</sup> For details, see Mahdī Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 29-30, pl. IX a.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 52. Also *PRWC*, p. 57, where it was stated to purport the carving of the *miḥrāb* by 'Zaḳīuddin Aḥmad Qazzeruni' himself, who is further described as 'the greatest architect of Cambay'. Al-Kāzarūnī is also stated there to have built the Jāmi' Mosque (cf. Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 96) and been buried under the great dome of the principal gateway. All this is incorrect.

(b) *In the arched portion.*

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمدا عبده و رسوله

(c) i. *Inner margin, around (a).*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

ii. *Arch-base.*

هذا ما وعد الرحمن و صدق المرسلون انا لله و انا اليه راجعون

(d) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملايكة و اولوا العلم قايماء بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(e) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- (٢) و لا تحسبن الذين قتلوا فى سبيل الله امواتا بل احياهم عند ربهم  
 (٣) يرزقون فرحين بما اتهم الله من فضله و يستبشرون بالذين لم يلحقوا  
 (٤) بهم من خلفهم الا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحزنون يستبشرون  
 (٥) بنعمة من الله و فضل و ان الله لا يضيع اجر المومنين  
 (٦) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف السعيد الشهيد المرحوم المغفور ملك  
 (٧) ملوك الشرق و الوزراء مشهور العرب و العجم زكى الدولة  
 (٨) و الدين عمر ابن احمد الكازرونى المخاطب بروي ملك تغمد الله تعالى  
 (٩) بالرحمة و الغفران واسكنه فى دار الجنان المتوفى الى رحمة  
 (١٠) الله تعالى فى يوم الاربعاء التاسع من صفر سنة اربع و ثلاثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) 'O man! Consider the *Qur'ān* full of Wisdom; Most surely you are one of the apostles, on a right way. A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful, That you may warn a people whose fathers were not warned, so they are heedless. Certainly the word has proved true of most of them, so they do not believe. Surely We have placed chains on their necks, and these reach upto their



chains, so they have their heads raised aloft. And We have made before them a barrier and a barrier behind them, then We have covered them over so that they do not see. And it is alike to them whether you warn them or warn them not; they do not believe. And it is alike him who follows the reminder and fears the Beneficent God in secret; so announce to him forgiveness and an honorable reward. Surely We give life to the dead, and We write down that they have sent before and their footprints, and We have recorded everything in a clear writing. And set out to them a parable of the people of the town, when the messengers came to it. When We sent to them two, they rejected both of them, then We strengthened (them) with a third.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Second Creed.<sup>2</sup>

(c) i. *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.<sup>3</sup>

ii. 'This is what the Beneficent God promised and the apostles told the truth.'<sup>4</sup> 'Surely we are Allāh's and to Him, we shall surely return.'<sup>5</sup>

(d) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.<sup>6</sup>

(e) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>7</sup>

(2-5) 'And reckon not those who are killed in Allāh's way as dead; nay, they are alive (and) are provided sustenance from their Lord; rejoicing in what Allāh has given them out of His grace, and they rejoice for the sake of those who (being left) behind them, have not yet joined them, that they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice on account of favour from Allāh and (His) grace, and that Allāh will not waste the reward of the believers'.<sup>8</sup>

(6) This is the grave of the weak creature, the fortunate, the martyr, the one taken into Allāh's mercy, the pardoned, Malik-i-

(7) *Mulūki'sh-Sharq wa'l-Wuzarā* (lit. the prince among the princes of the East<sup>9</sup> and ministers) one who is celebrated in Arabia and other Islamic countries, Zakiu'd-Daulat

(8) *wa'd-Din* (lit. one who is just in the matters of State and Religion), 'Umar son of Ahmad al-Kāzarūnī entitled *Parvīz Malik*, may the Exalted Allāh cover him

(9) with (His) mercy and pardon and settle him in the abode of Paradise, one who returned to the mercy

(10) of the Exalted Allāh, on Wednesday, the ninth of (the month of) *Ṣafar* (of the) year (A.H.) four and thirty and seven hundred (9 *Ṣafar* 734=22 October 1333).

## XXI. ANOTHER EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 734 (1333 A.D.)

This fragmentary headstone is preserved in the Tomb of *Parvāz Shahid*, where it is built up, third from left, in the west wall.<sup>10</sup> Its top portion which was presumably arch-shaped, is gone. In its present state, it measures 40 by 50 cm.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXVI, verses 1-13 and part of 14.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 39 and f.n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXVI, part of verse 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter II, part of verse 156.

<sup>6</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

*Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 168-70.

<sup>8</sup> Generally used for nobles of very high rank.

<sup>10</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 73; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 8, where the year of death and the sobriquet are wrongly given as A.H. 731 and 'Ālaṅgir respectively.

The epitaph was originally set up on the grave of another member of the 'Alamgar family already referred to above (No. VII, *supra*). He is Ḥasan son of Abū Bakr 'Alamgar (lit. lance or standard-maker), who is stated to have expired on Friday, 19th Rabi' I 734 (8th December 1333).<sup>1</sup> Except for this, no other information is available about him.

The style of writing is the *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* characteristic of Cambay epitaphs, and so is the general design, but of the less ornate variety. The text reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate XI (a)

## (a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما في السموات و ما في الارض  
 من ذى الذى يشفع .....  
 يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم و ما محمد الا رسول قد خلت من قبله الرسل اليوم يغفر الله لكم  
 و هو الرحم الرحمين

## (b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم

(٣) مقيم خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقير الى الله تعالى

(٥) حسن بن ابو بكر علمگر تغمده الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه

(٦) بحبوة جنانة توفى يوم الجمعة التاسع و عشرين من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٣٤

(٧) بعة و ثلثون و سبعمائة و صلى الله على محمد و على آله

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255 (middle portion lost).<sup>2</sup> 'And Muḥammad is no more than an apostle'.<sup>3</sup> 'This day, Allāh may forgive you, and He is the most merciful of the merciful'.<sup>4</sup>

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>5</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to ephemerics, this day was Wednesday.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

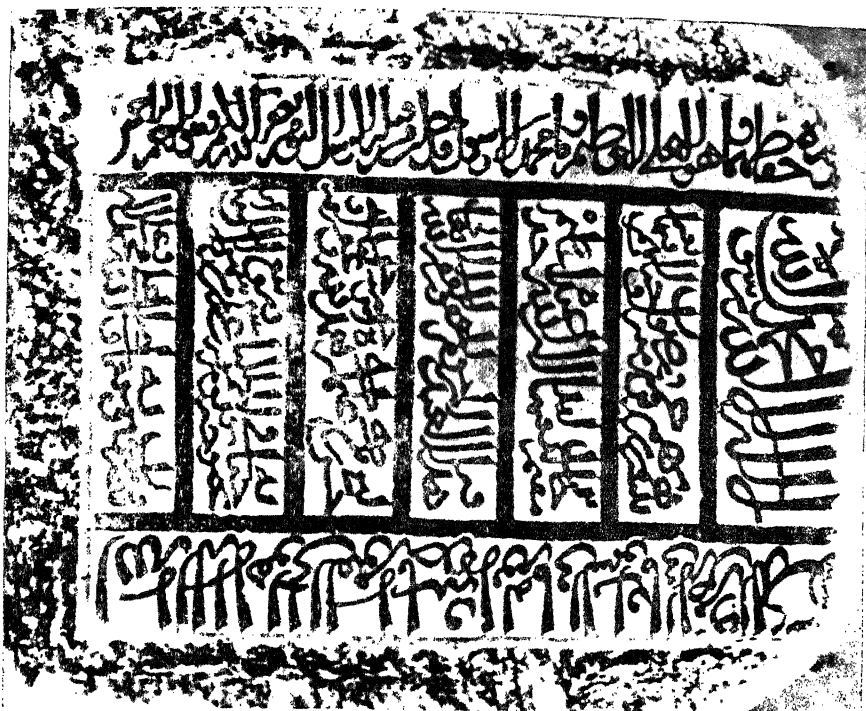
<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter XII, part of verse 92.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

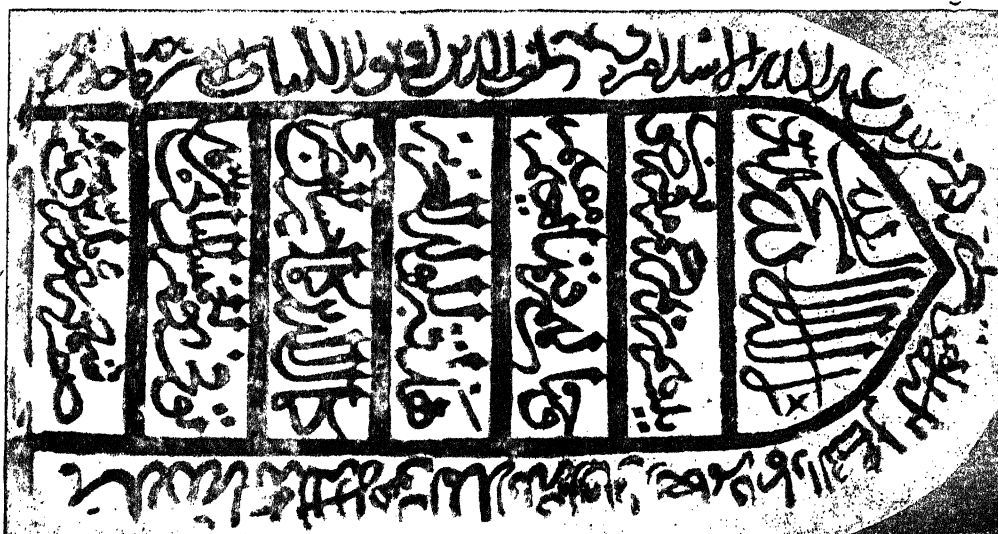
<sup>6</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

(a) Another epigraph dated A.H. 734 ( p. 44 )



SCALE : .24

(b) Epigraph dated A.H. 736 ( p. 45 )



SCALE : .3



(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned, the dependent on the Exalted Allāh,

(5) Ḥasan son of Abū Bakr 'Alamgar (lit. Lance- or Banner-maker), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him

(6) in the centre of His Paradise. He died on Friday, the twentieth of the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, four

(7) and thirty and seven hundred (29 Rabi' I 734=8 December 1333). And Allāh's salutations be upon Muḥammad and his progeny.

## XXII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 736 (1335 A.D.)

This headstone too is fixed up next to the previous one, that is fourth from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shahīd,<sup>1</sup> and is, like it, fragmentary. But its top has been shaped to a flattish arch design almost in the same way as another fragmentary epitaph in the east wall published some time back.<sup>2</sup> In view of this and a couple of other fragmentary epitaphs in the present group (Nos. XVIII, XIX, etc.), it would appear that the slabs were so shaped at the time of letting them up into the wall and there may not have been any subsequent epitaph engraved on the reverse as was suggested earlier.<sup>3</sup>

The slab measures, in its present state, 45 cm. from apex to bottom and 20 cm. in width and was meant to serve as the headstone for the grave of Kamālu'd-Dīn Kamāl son of Ḥusain al-Baṣrī (i.e. of Baṣrā)<sup>4</sup> who died on Thursday, 2nd Ṣafar 736 (21st September 1335).<sup>5</sup> The deceased seems to have died quite young, as apart from the size of the tablet, the text calls him 'the dear son', which could be further taken to indicate that the text of the epitaph was dictated by his bereaved father. From his *nisba*, the father of the deceased, Ḥusain, appears to be an Irāqī merchant settled or at least carrying on some business at Cambay.

The writing is executed in the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh*. The tablet having been exposed to elements of nature before its removal to the present place, the writing is slightly damaged in the margin, but the extant text is quite legible.

The text has been read as follows :

### TEXT

#### Plate XI (b)

(a) *Margin, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملايكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز  
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم...

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 78, where it is stated to be in the southern wall.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fn.4.

<sup>4</sup> A famous port-town in Irāq.

<sup>5</sup> This epitaph also was noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 7, where his name proper was omitted.

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

(٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٤) هذا قبر الولد العزيز

(٥) كمال الدين كمال بن حسين البصرى

(٦) توفى يوم الخميس الثانى من شهر

(٧) صفر شهر سنة ستة و ثلثين وسبعماية

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18 (upto knowledge).<sup>1</sup>(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.<sup>3</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the dear son

(5) *Kamālū'd-Dīn Kamāl* son of *Husain al-Baṣrī* (i.e. of *Basrā*).

(6) He died on Thursday the 2nd of the month of

(7) *Ṣafar* (of the) months of the year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (2 *Ṣafar* 736=21 September 1335).

## XXIII. ANOTHER EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 736 (1336 A.D.)

The man on whose grave this epitaph was originally set up has been mentioned above as a member of the *Irbilī* family (p. 13, *supra*). The epitaphic tablet is also preserved in the Tomb of *Parvāz Shāhid*, where it may be seen, second from right, into the eastern wall.<sup>4</sup>

The design of the epitaph is of the simple variety, but the calligraphy is of a high order. The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*. The writing is damaged due to adverse effects of weather to which the tablet seems to have remained exposed before its removal to the present premises; the writing in the bottom of the left marginal panel is almost obliterated.

According to the text, the tombstone marked the grave of *Shamsū'd-Dīn Muḥammad* son of *Abū Bakr Irbilī* (i.e. *Irbil*),<sup>5</sup> *alias* *Fatoliya* who died on the 25th *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 736 (5th July 1336). In the Progress Report where it was first noticed, the *nisba* has been recorded as *Adbālī* instead of *Irbilī* and the unit of the year of death is not given.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 10.<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 122.<sup>5</sup> *Irbil* was a town near *Mosul* in modern *Irāq*.<sup>6</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 18.

It has been pointed out elsewhere, on the basis of another epitaph from Cambay, that the *alias* Fatoliya does not appear to have been the nickname of the deceased or of any other individual but was very probably the cognomen by which the family was known.<sup>1</sup> This nickname is clear in the present epigraph and, as has been suggested earlier, appears to be a Gujarātī word, derived from Faṭol meaning 'soft', etc. in relation to betelnuts.<sup>2</sup> That the deceased, another foreigner settled at Cambay, was a merchant can be safely presumed.

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 60 cm. from apex to bottom and 28 cm. in height contains the following text. It is somewhat unusual that there is a grammatical mistake in the text—in the very beginning of the epitaph proper after the Qurānic verse in the fourth horizontal panel.

## TEXT

## Plate XII (a)

## (a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشى من علمه  
الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض [و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم]

## (b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت ثم

(٤) الينا ترجعون هذا القبر ال.....

(٥) شمس الدين محمد بن المرحوم ابو بكر

(٦) ادبلى عرف فتوليده غفر الله له فى

(٧) تاريخ الخامس و العشرين ذوالقعدة سنة ست و ثلثين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) Qur'ān, Chapter II, verses 255.<sup>3</sup>

(b) (1) First Creed.<sup>4</sup>

(2) Basmala.<sup>5</sup>

(3-4) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to us you shall be brought back.'<sup>6</sup> This is the grave of the [creature?]

<sup>1</sup> *ELAPS*, 1961, pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Qur'ān, Chapter XXIX, verse 57.

(5) Shamsu'd-Din Muḥammad son of the one who is received into (Allāh's) mercy namely Abū Bakr

(6) Irbili (i.e. of Irbil), *alias* Fatoliya, may Allāh pardon him. (He died) on

(7) the date twentyfifth (of the month of) Dhu'l-Qa'da (of the) year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (25 Dhu'l-Qa'da 736=5 July 1336).

#### XXIV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 738 (1337 A.D.)

The headstone bearing this epitaph is attached to the grave of a lady, locally called Bibī Rānī at Nagarā,<sup>1</sup> a small village situated at a distance of about 5 kilometres to the north of Cambay, representing the site of ancient Cambay.<sup>2</sup> The Tomb of Bibī Rānī, which I visited in 1959 is an ordinary hut-like modern structure, but the finely carved marble sarcophagus is original and resembles those of Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Umar al-Kazarūnī and his wife, mentioned above. The design of the epitaph, however, though pleasing, is devoid of artistic decorations.

According to the text, the grave belongs to a lady named Fāṭima daughter of the late Sayyid Tajū'd-Dīn Husain al-'Alavī, who died on Monday, 4th Ṣafar 738 (1st September 1337). Nothing is known about the lady or her father from any source. That she hailed from a respectable family of 'Alavī Sayyids is clear from the honorific 'Sayyid' and *nisba* 'Alavī appended to the name of the father.<sup>3</sup> The text is silent on the married status of the deceased which is unusual: Could the absence of the husband's name be taken to mean that she died a virgin or was a divorcee at the time of death?

There is some variation in the religious text. The epitaph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet measuring 82 cm. from apex to bottom and 45 cm. in width. The reverse of the upper part of the tablet is inscribed with Quranic text,<sup>4</sup> and so is the eastern side of the sarcophagus itself.<sup>5</sup> The style of writing is in the main the usually fine *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*, while the *Basmala* is executed in ornamental *Kūfī*.

The text has been read as follows:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XII(b)

##### (a) Margin.

آمن الرسول بما أنزل من ربه و المومنون كل آمن بالله و ملايكته و كتبه و رسله  
لا نفرق بين احد من رسله و قالوا سمعنا و اطعنا غفرانك ربنا و اليك المصير لا يكلف الله نفسا  
الا وسعها لها ما كسبت و عليها ما اكتسبت ربنا لا تؤاخذنا ان نسينا او اخطانا ربنا و لا

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 136. It was first noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief account of Nagarā and its remains, please see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VI (Bombay, 1880), and *Ratnampi Bāo Jote*, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50. However, no mention of the Tomb or the epitaph is found in either of these or *Burgess*, *op. cit.* or *Burgess and Cousens*, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> The term *Sayyid* seems to have been used here in the Indian sense of the term indicating descent from Prophet Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭima, wife of 'Alī. Incidentally, the term 'Alavī is also usually applied to 'Alī's progeny from wives other than Fāṭima.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 138.



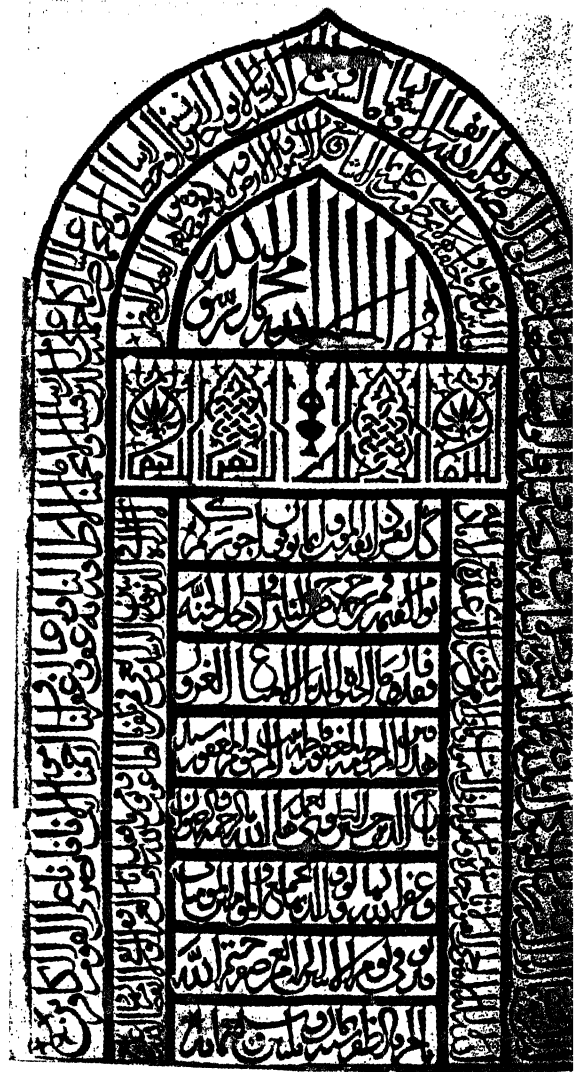


(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 736 ( p. 47 )



SCALE : 22

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 738 ( p. 48 )



SCALE : 17

تحمل علينا اصرا كما حملته على انذين من قبلنا ربنا و لا تحملنا ما لا طاقة لنا به واعف عنا و  
اغفر لنا و ارحمنا انت مولانا فانصبرنا على القوم الكافرين

(b) *Inner margin.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه فى  
الدين قد تبين الرشd من الغى فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى  
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(c) *Within the arch.*

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) كل نفس ذايقة الموت و انما توفون اجوركم

(٣) يوم القيامة فمن زحج عن النار و ادخل الجنة

(٤) فقد فاز و ما الحياة الدنيا الا متاع الغرور

(٥) هذا قبر المرحومه المغفوره فاطمة بنت المرحوم المغفور سيد

(٦) تاج الدين حسين العلوى تغمدها الله بالرحمة و الرضوان

(٧) و غفر الله لها و لوالديها و لجميع المؤمنين و المومنات

(٨) قد توفى يوم الاثنين الرابع من صفر ختم الله

(٩) بالخير و الظفر سنة ثمان و ثلثين و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(a) 'The apostle believes in what has been revealed to him from his Lord, and (so do) the believers; they all believe in Allāh and His angels and His books and His apostles: We make no difference between any of His apostles and they say: We hear and obey, our Lord. Thy forgiveness (do we crave), and to Thee is the eventual course.

Allāh does not impose upon any soul a duty but to the extent of its ability; for it is (the benefit of) what it has earned, and upon it (the evil of) what it has wrought: our Lord! Do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake; our Lord! do not lay on us a burden as thou didst lay on those before us; our Lord! do not impose upon us that which we have not the strength to

bear; and pardon us and grant us protection and have mercy on us ; Thou art our Patron, so help us against the unbelieving people '.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.<sup>2</sup>

(c) (1) First Creed.<sup>3</sup>

(d) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>4</sup>

(2) ' Every soul shall taste of death, and you shall only be paid fully your reward

(3) on the resurrection day; then whoever is removed far away from the fire and is made to enter the garden,

(4) he indeed has attained the object, and the life of this world is nothing but a provision of vanities. '<sup>5</sup>

(5) This is the grave of the lady received into (Allāh's) mercy (and) the pardoned one Fāṭima daughter of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) the pardoned one Sayyid

(6) Tājū'd-Dīn (lit. the crown of Faith) Ḥusain al-'Alavī (i.e. descended from 'Ali the fourth caliph), may Allāh cover her with His mercy and pleasure

(7) and may Allāh pardon her and her parents and all the Faithful men and women.

(8) She died on Monday the fourth of (the month of) Ṣafar, may Allāh end (it)

(9) with goodness and victory, (of the) year (A.H.) eight and thirty and seven hundred (4 Ṣafar 738=1 September 1337).

## XXV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 741 (1340)

This otherwise finely executed epitaph, noticed here for the first time, is fragmentary though at first glance it looks complete. The slab seems to have broken in such a way that its middle portion was lost, and its upper and lower portions were properly edged and put together at the time of their being built up into the wall in such a way that the tablet appears to be whole, but the lack of continuity of the religious texts and the absence of the usual initial phrases of the obituary notice clearly shows that the middle portion is missing.

The arch-shaped tablet is built up at the northern end of the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*.<sup>6</sup> Apart from being fragmentary, the writing is considerably damaged, rendering the decipherment of the epitaph proper extremely difficult. As a result of all these, it could only be deciphered tentatively and the details about the deceased could not be made out except the date of death. According to this tentative reading, the deceased was a lady and her father was a big merchant named Sa'd, who from his name appears to be a foreign immigrant. Beyond this nothing can be made out.

The off-quoted Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey does not mention this record, which is perhaps due to the damaged nature of the epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 285-86.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

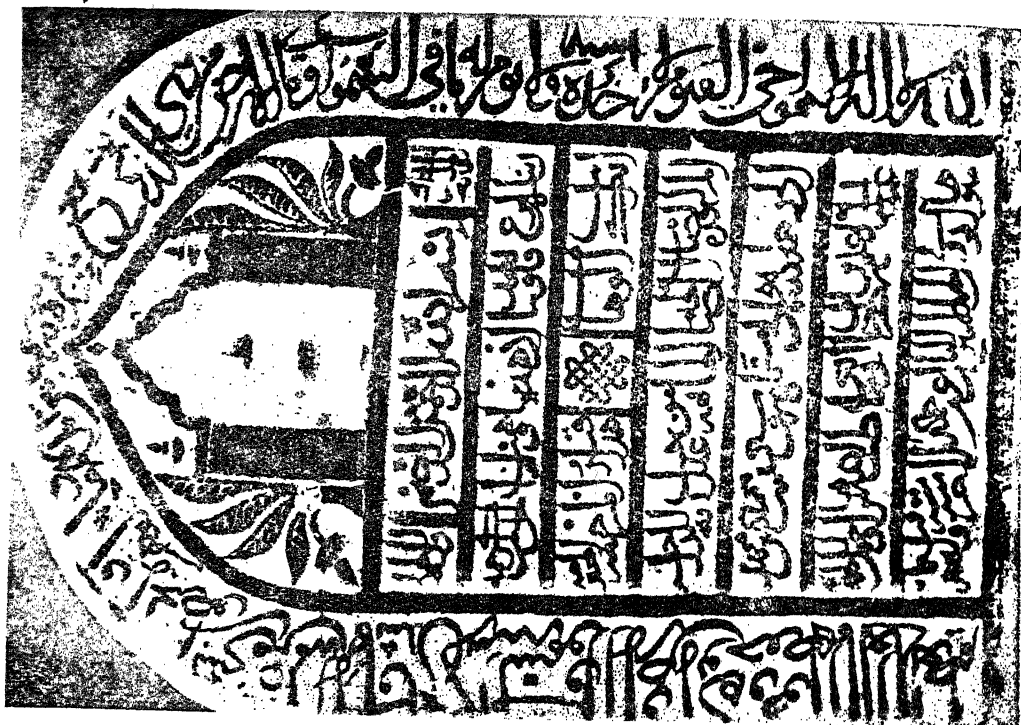
<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 184.

<sup>6</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 86, where it is stated to be in the southern wall.



(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 746 ( p. 52 )



SCALE : 26

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 741 ( p. 51 )



SCALE : 2

The style of writing is the same *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the tablet measures 45 cm. at the base and 50 cm. from apex to bottom.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(a) Outer margin.<sup>1</sup>

.....من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و  
لا يحيطون.....

(b) Within the arch.

لا اله الا الله

(c) In the border, below (a), right and left sides.

العزة لله

الملك لله

(d) Vertical panels.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملايكه[ة].....العلم بغيا بينهم و من  
يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(e) Horizontal panels.

(١) .....بنت امير التجار سعد(?) تنمدها الله بالرحمة و الرضوان

(٢) و اسكنها فى دار الجنان توفى ليلة الاربعة السابع

(٣) عشرين من المحرم سنة احدى و اربعين و سبعماية و سلم تسليمها

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255 (middle portion lost).<sup>2</sup>

(b) 'There is no god but Allāh'.

(c) The kingdom belongs only to Allāh. The glory belongs only to Allāh.

(d) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17 and 18 (middle portion lost).<sup>3</sup>

(e) (1) .....daughter of the prince among merchants Sa'd(?), may Allāh cover her with (His) mercy and pleasure

(2) and settle her in the abode of Paradise. She died on the night of Wednesday, the seventh

<sup>1</sup> Only the writing in the margin of the arched portion has survived.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

(3) (and) twenty of (the month of) Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) one and forty and seven hundred (27 Muḥarram 741=23 July 1340). And may peace be (upon the Prophet).

The 23rd of July 1340 was Sunday.

# XXVI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 746 (1345 A.D.)

This tombstone built up, first from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid,<sup>1</sup> is one of the few records noticed earlier in the above-mentioned Progress Report with comments.<sup>2</sup> It belongs, in general design and execution, to the simple one-border type of Cambay tombstones and must have been originally fixed at the grave of a lady (Sittī) named Sharaf, daughter of Kamālū'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī son of 'Āmir son of Tarāḥān Anṣārī, who expired on the 13th Jumādā II 746 (11 October 1345). The notice in the said Progress Report, quoting the genealogy of the deceased, a lady, viz. 'Musammāt Sharaf Satī (?)', daughter of Najmu'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'l-Jabbār son of Amir son of Tarkhān', is incorrect and confusing. Particularly, the wrong reading of the name Tarkhān gave rise to the following misleading comment: 'The record contains the earliest reference to the class of Tarkhān clan of Khurasan who later on founded a kingdom for themselves in Sindh, after the decline of the Musalman-Rājput Sammās in the 16th century A.D.'<sup>3</sup> But this is not true. The name in question is Tarāḥān, which and the name of his son 'Āmir and the *nisba* Anṣārī<sup>4</sup> are sufficient indications of their Arab descent.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, it would be wrong to see any earliest reference in this record to the Tarkhān clan.

The epitaph thus belonged to a foreign settler, but it unfortunately does not give any details about the deceased or her husband, if any.<sup>5</sup> The record speaks of her as a devout and respected lady.

The headstone is as usual arch-shaped and measures 55 cm. from apex to bottom and 35 cm. in width. The text is inscribed in *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* but has sharp pointed final *hā*, which makes it more artistic.

## TEXT

### Plate XIII(b)

#### (a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض  
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه  
الا بما شاء و سع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

<sup>1</sup> *ARI*, 1956-57, No. D, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> The Anṣārīs are descendants of Anṣārs (lit. helpers)—those residents of Medina, who, after embracing Islam played host to and helped Prophet Muhammad and his companions when the latter migrated there in 622.

<sup>5</sup> In this context, see p. 48.



(b) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) الملك لله بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [وله] الحمد  
 (٢) ربنا لا تزغ قلوبنا بعد اذ هديتنا وهب لنا من لدنك رحمة  
 (٣) انك انت الوهاب - هذا قبر المرحومه المحترمه  
 (٤) المستوره الصاعمة الصالحة الخايفة من عذاب ربه [كذا] الراجية  
 (٥) الى رحمة الله تعالى مسماة ستي شرف بنت كمال [الدين محمد بن  
 (٦) عبد الباقي بن عامر بن طرхан انصارى طيب الله ثراها و جعل الجنة  
 (٧) مثواها توفيت في ليلة الاثنين الثالث عشر من جمادى الاخر سنة ستة و اربعين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.<sup>1</sup>

(b) (1) 'Kingdom belongs to Allāh.' *Basmala*.<sup>2</sup> 'And to Him is due Praise.'

(2) 'Our Lord! make not our hearts to deviate after Thou hast guided us aright, and grant us from Thee mercy ;

(3) surely, Thou are the most liberal Giver.'<sup>3</sup> This is the grave of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, the respected,

(4) the veiled, the fasting, the pious, the one who always feared the punishment of her Lord, the hopeful

(5) of the mercy of the exalted Allāh, named Sittī<sup>4</sup> Sharaf daughter of Kamāl(u'd-) Dīn Muḥammad son of

(6) 'Abdu'l-Bāqī son of 'Amīr son of Ṭarāḥān Anṣārī, may Allāh render her earthly abode (lit. earth) pleasant and make Paradise

(7) her abode. She died on the night of Monday, the thirteenth of (the month of) Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.) six and forty and seven hundred (13th Jumādā II 746= 11 October 1345).

## XXVII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 778 (1376 A.D.)

The next epitaph, interesting in its own way, is dated A.H. 778, that is after a gap of more than four lunar decades. The tombstone is built up into the west wall of the Faraspur or Piraspur-ki-Masjid,<sup>5</sup> whence also came the epitaph noticed above (No. XIV, *supra*), and like it, the present epigraph is noticed here for the first time.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 7.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic term Sittī is a term of respect and is roughly equivalent to 'Lady' in English.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 100.

The first thing that strikes the onlooker about the record is its shape and design, which are entirely different. It is neither arch-shaped nor arranged in elaborate panelled design like most of its counterparts in the present group. Likewise, the style of writing is also somewhat different, being *Thulth* with strong *Riqā'* flourishes.

As to the contents, it is more or less on the same pattern—Quranic text, though limited, and the obituary proper.

The epitaph was set up to mark the grave of Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥājī Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'llāh, popularly known as Kūkband, who is stated to have expired on Friday, 3rd Jumādā al-Ākhar 778 (18th October 1376). The text calls him 'the great Shaikh,<sup>1</sup> the devout, the righteous and the religious', which indicates that he was a saintly person. The exact connotation of his *alias* 'Kūkband' which appears to be a Persian term is not clear, but that may have been either his popular epithet or professional name. The appendage Ḥājī shows that he had performed the prescribed visit to the Holy Ka'ba at Mecca and presumably Medina too. The text offers no clue as to the country of his origin.

The style of writing of this epigraph may be described as *Thulth* with very strong *Riqā'*-features.<sup>2</sup> The tablet is squarish measuring 40 by 50 cm. and contains the following text:—

## TEXT

## Plate XIV(a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
- (٢) شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالْمَلِكَةُ وَأُولُوا الْعِلْمِ
- (٣) قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ إِنْ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ
- (٤) اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانْ وَيَقَى وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو
- (٥) الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ هَذِهِ تَرْبَةُ الشَّيْخِ الْإِجْلِ الْعَابِدِ الْمُتَّقِي الْمَتَدِينِ
- (٦) جَمَالِ الدِّينِ حَاجِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَرَفَ كَوَكْبَنْدَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً
- (٧) وَاسِعَةً وَغَفَرَهُ مَغْفَرَةً جَامِعَةً تَوَفَّى إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْغَفُورِ فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ ثَالِثَ
- (٨) مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الْآخِرَةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

## TRANSLATION

(1) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>

(2-5) *Qur'an*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,<sup>4</sup> Chapter XL, verses 26-27.<sup>5</sup> This is the grave of the great Shaikh, the devout, the righteous, the religious,

<sup>1</sup> This term literally meaning 'old' or 'aged' is also applied to persons of great éminence, particularly in the field of learning or sainthood.

<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out that not in all cases, particularly of *Nasḥ* and *Thulth*, the epigraphical specimens conform to the laid down rules.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

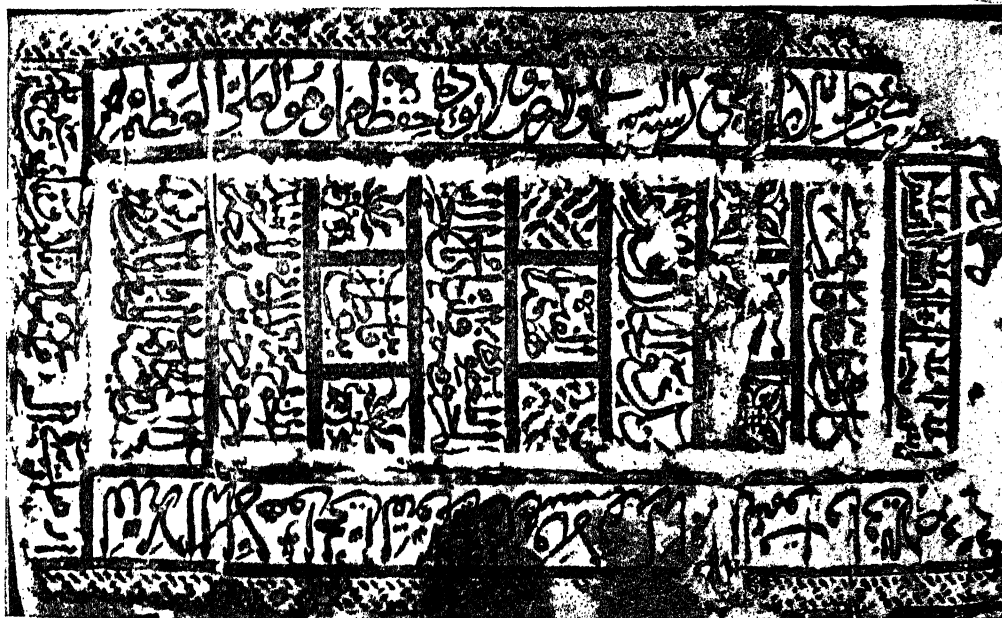
<sup>5</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 778 ( p. 54 )



SCALE : .21

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 783 ( p. 55 )



SCALE : .18



(6) Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥājī Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'llāh popularly known as *Kūkbānd*, may Allāh be merciful to him with (His) mercy

(7) unbounded and pardon him with His overwhelming pardon. He was taken into the mercy of the Pardoning Allāh on Friday, the third

(8) of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the ) year eight and seventy and seven hundred from the Migration of the Prophet, may (Allāh's) peace be upon him (3 Jumādā II 778=18 October 1376).

### XXVIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 783 (1382 A.D.)

This epitaph stands at the head of the smaller grave in the Tomb of Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Umar al-Kāzarūnī,' already referred to above (p. 40). The grave enshrines the remains of al-Kāzarūnī's wife and is of the same ornateness as that of the husband.

The tablet was originally arch-shaped, but the top portion having been lost through damage, it has been restored with cement-plaster. Roughly rectangular, it measures 42 cm. by 74 cm. and though simple and not so highly ornate in design as the other headstones, it is quite pleasing : particularly its horizontal panels are made more artistic by dividing every alternate panel into three parts, the side ones having been filled with geometrical and floral designs and the middle ones with text which states that the grave belongs to Bībī Fāṭima daughter of the late Khwāja Ḥusain of Gīlān and wife of Zakīu'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Kāzarūnī, who died on the 20th Shawwāl 783 (7th January 1382).

The chief importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it provides the name of the wife of a prominent person of his age and that of her father and her land of origin, a piece of information not available from any source. Her father too would appear, like her husband, to be a merchant of Iranian origin, hailing from Gīlān.

The calligraphy of the record is quite good, but not as good as that of the epitaph of her husband. The script is *Riq'at*-type *Naskh* except for the *Basmala* which is executed in ornamental *Kūf* of quite a pleasing type. There is also in the text a minor grammatical error which is rather unusual.

An incomplete and incorrect reading of this epigraph too, made by Professor E. Rehatsek was published by Burgess and Cousens in their List. The deceased, for example, is stated therein to have been 'crown of treasures' and one 'who had performed the pilgrimage to Karbalā'.<sup>2</sup>

The epitaph reads as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XIV(b)

##### (a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما في السموات و ما في الارض  
من ذى..... و لا يحيطون بشى من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض  
و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

##### (b) Within the arch.

[لا اله الا الله] محمد [سول الله]

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess & Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 320, No. 16. Karbalā is the place where the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain attained martyrdom and where he lies buried.

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 (٢) كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى  
 (٣) وَجْه  
 (٤) رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ  
 (٥) هَذَا الْقَبْرُ (كَذَا)  
 (٦) الْمَرْحُومَةُ الْمَغْفُورَةُ فَخْرُ النِّسَاءِ تَاجُ الْحَرَاِيرِ  
 (٧) بَيْبَى فَاطِمَةُ بِنْتُ  
 (٨) الْمَرْحُومِ الْخَوَاجَةِ حُسَيْنِ الْكَيْلَانِيِّ زَوْجَةِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَرْحُومِ  
 (٩) زَكِيِّ الدِّينِ عَمْرِو الْكَازِرُونِيِّ الْمُخَاطَبِ بِمُلْكِهِ بِرُؤُوسِ نَوْرٍ  
 (١٠) اللَّهُ قَبْرُهَا تَوَلَّى فِي الْعَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَوَّالٍ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَ ثَمَانِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ

## TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255.<sup>1</sup>  
 (b) First Creed.<sup>2</sup>  
 (c) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>  
 (2-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XL, verses 26-27.<sup>4</sup>  
 (5) This is the grave  
 (6) of the lady taken into Allāh's mercy and pardoned, the pride among women, the crown of free women (i.e. women of noble lineage),  
 (7) Bibi Fāṭima, daughter of  
 (8) the *Khawāja* who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, Ḥusain al-Gilānī (i.e. of Gilān, a province in Irān) (and) wife of the Malik (who is) taken into Allāh's mercy (viz.)  
 (9) Zakīn'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Kāzarūnī entitled Malik Parviz, may illumined  
 (10) by Allāh be her grave. She died on the twentieth of (the month of) *Shawwāl* (of the) year (A.H.) three and eighty and seven hundred (20 *Shawwāl* 783=7 January 1382).

## XXIX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 786 (1384 A.D.)

This short epitaph, noticed here for the first time, seems to have escaped the notice of the officer when the epigraphical survey of Cambay was made in 1919-20, for it is not included in his list. The tablet is lying loose in the Tomb of Pīr Buhlūl *Shahīd* in Tin-Limḍī or Chhipwād,<sup>5</sup> where one more epitaph, noticed above (No. XII, *supra*), is preserved.

The squarish slab measuring 22 cm. by 27 cm. is fragmentary in that a little bit from its top left corner has disappeared. Whether it was originally arch-shaped or not, it is difficult to say for certain, but perhaps it was not.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 108.

The brief obituary note, too, is not fully clear. The text calls the deceased as Aḥmad 'Alī, but such compound name not being in vogue in those days, very probably the *idāfat-i-ibnī* is intended in this case, making it Aḥmad-i-'Alī i.e. Aḥmad son of 'Alī. This is, of course, usually not done in Arabic texts, which is the case here, but as stated above, the text is faulty and the composer not very conversant with Arabic language. Unfortunately, again, an important word indicating his *nisba* which could have disclosed his origin or profession or like information cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. This is so despite the usually fine, distinct and clear-cut script, which is *Riqā'*-like *Naskḥ*, but the lack of diacritical marks coupled with calligraphical flourishes has prevented its definite decipherment: it reads like *Kirātīst* or *Kirātītast*.

So, according to our tentative reading, the epitaph was intended to mark the grave of one Aḥmad (son) of 'Alī Kirātīst (?). The given date, viz. Saturday, the 16th of Jumādā al-Ākhar 786 (5th August 1384) is evidently the date of his death.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
(۲) كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجهه  
(۳) ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام هذا القبر (كذا) الاعز  
(۴) احمد على كراتيتست (كراتيتست)؟ في ذلك التاريخ يوم السبت  
(۵) السادس عشرة من جمادى الاخر سنة ستو ثمانين و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) First Creed.<sup>1</sup>

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XL, verses 26-27.<sup>2</sup> This is the grave of the most beloved (?),

(4) Aḥmad (son of?) 'Alī Kirātīst or Kiratītast (?). And this was on the date Saturday,

(5) sixteenth of (the month of) Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.) six and eighty and seven hundred (16 Jumādā II 786=5 August 1384).

XXX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 798 (1395 A.D.)

The last epitaph of the group is from the Tomb of Pir Tāju'd-Dīn referred to above (p.7), where it is built up into the eastern wall,<sup>3</sup> and is noticed here for the first time. The arch-shaped tombstone conforms to the ornate type, with the arch being trifolied with a vase hanging from its apex on chain, and decorated with floral designs here and there.

The tablet measuring 78 cm. from apex to bottom and 40 cm. in width seems to have weathered considerably, for the writing is quite damaged. But the text is more or less legible except the *nisba* of the deceased which has defied several attempts at decipherment. According to the text, the epitaph belonged to the grave of Khwāja Asil<sup>4</sup> son of 'Umar son of Sa'du'd-Dīn, who expired on Sunday the 8th of Muḥarram 798 (23rd October 1395). The deceased is spoken of in the text as 'the chief of merchants, pride among the great and the free-born', which shows that he was a prominent member of the mercantile community. His native place cannot be determined as the *nisba* could not be deciphered.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 121.

<sup>4</sup> In *ibid.*, the name is read as Ṣalidān.

The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* of excellent quality. The text is quoted below:—

## TEXT

## Plate XV(b)

(a) *Within the arch.*

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(b) *Margin.*

[الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الأرض من ذي الذي يشفع عنده إلا بأذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشي من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض ولا يوده حفظهما و [هو العلى العظيم]

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) يبشروهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم

(٣) مقيم خالدين فيها إذا أن الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف التحييف الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى

(٥) صدر التجار مفخر الأكابر و الأحرار خواجه اصيل ابن عمر ابن سعد الدين

٦ ال[.....]ى تغمد الله بالرحمة و أسكنه فى دار الجنان توفى يوم

(٧) الأحد الثامن من المحرم سنة ثمان و تسعين و سبعمائة

(٨) حامدا لله و مصليا على رسوله محمد و الصلوة و السلام

## TRANSLATION

(a) (1) First Creed.<sup>1</sup>(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.<sup>2</sup>(c) (1) *Basmala*.<sup>3</sup>(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.<sup>4</sup>

(4) This is the grave of the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Exalted Allāh,

(5) the chief of the merchants, pride of the great and the free-born, *Khawāja Aṣil* son of 'Umar son of Sa'du'd-Din

(6) al....., may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and settle him in the abode of Paradise. He died on Sun-

(7) day, the eighth of (the month of) Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) eight and ninety and seven hundred (8 Muḥarram 798=23 October 1395).

(8) Praise be to Allāh and salutations on His apostle Muḥammad. And salutation and peace.

<sup>1</sup> For translation, see p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> For translation, see p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For translation, see p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> For translation, see p. 12.

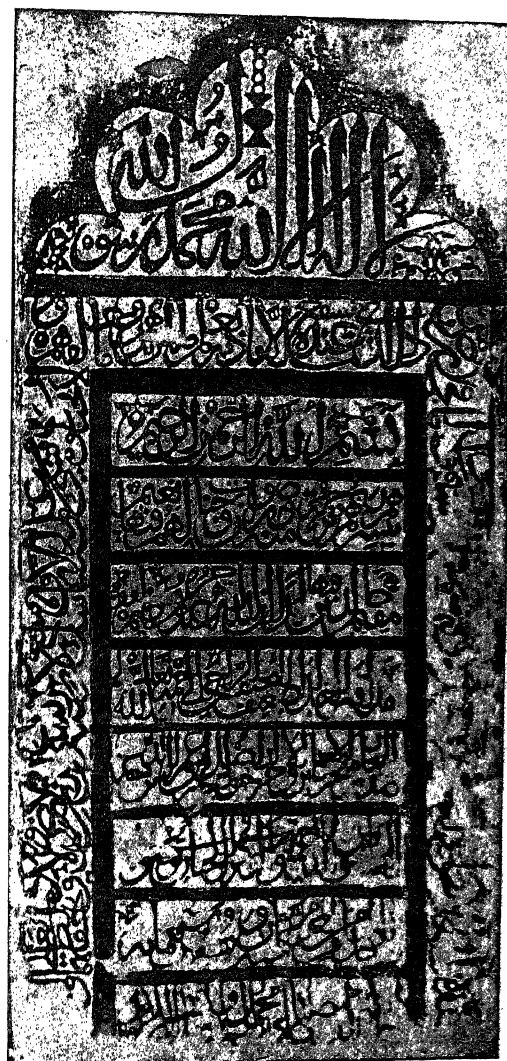


(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 786 ( p. 57 )



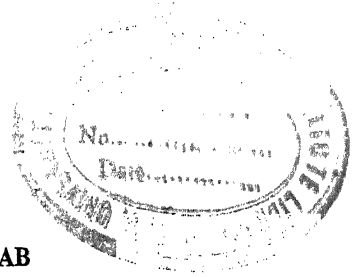
SCALE : 1/4

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 798 ( p. 58 )



SCALE : 1/7





## TWO MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM SAMANA, PANJAB

BY S. S. HUSAIN, EPIGRAPHICAL ASSISTANT

I propose to publish here two Mughal inscriptions from Sāmānā.<sup>1</sup> The town, a *Tahsil* headquarters in the Paṭiālā district of Panjāb, is situated in 30°9' north latitude and 76°15' east longitude, about 27 kilometres south-west of Paṭiālā town, with which it is connected by a fine metalled road. Sāmānā now a modern town containing well-built houses and fields along the borders of the town, finds frequent mention in historical works and enjoyed considerable importance during the Muslim period, as is attested to by numerous mosques and tombs some of which are unfortunately either in a ruinous condition or occupied by displaced persons from Pākistān for residential purposes, while others which were in good shape are turned into schools, Temples or Gurdwārās.

The original name of the town is said to have been Niranjan Kherā. Later on, from time to time it was known as Ratangarh, Dhobi Kherā and Sāmānā.<sup>2</sup> During the Sultanate period, Sāmānā was an important stronghold. It was first surrendered along with Sarsuti (Sirsā), Ghuram (Kuhram of historical works) and Hānsī to Muḥammad Ghori by Prithvī Rāj after his defeat in 1192.<sup>3</sup> During the Ma ulūk period, when the Mongols were plundering the upper Panjāb and Delhi, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban (1265-87) established military cantonments to prevent their inroads into the north-west frontiers, and appointed his son Bughrā Khān to the charge of Sāmānā<sup>4</sup> to reinforce and guard the Beās line. Under the Khāljis too, for the same reason, its importance as a military cantonment was realised and Sāmānā was made the headquarters of the most experienced commanders with well-equipped troops to check the Mongols. But under the Tughluq dynasty, Sāmānā and other sub-divisions namely Sunām, Hānsī, Sarusti (Sirsā), Kalānaut, Jullundhar and Sirhind remained under chaos due to rebellions of the governors and internal as well as external conflicts. It was only under the just rule of Firūz Shāh (1351-88) that this region heaved a sigh of relief and obtained prosperity. But with his passing away, the closing years of the fourteenth century brought havoc and plunder to Sāmānā and nearby territories in the wake of the invasion of Delhi by Timūr.<sup>5</sup> But under the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties, no important event seems to have taken place at Sāmānā except perhaps that it was here that Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī (1451-89) who had gone there in his early career, along with two of his friends to see his uncle Islām Khān Lodī, is said to have met a Darwish, Sayyid Abban or Saidā by name, who offered and 'sold' the kingdom of Delhi to him.<sup>6</sup>

During the Mughal rule, Sāmānā again finds occasional mention. Humāyūn had halted here after defeating Sikandar Sūr and was enchanted with its climate.<sup>7</sup> It was saved from plunder

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1971-72, Nos. D, 133-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Punjab District Gazetteer (DG)*, Vol. XVII A (Lahore, 1909), p. 204, f. n. 1; B. S. Nijjar, *Panjab under the Sultans* (Delhi, 1968), p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG)*, Vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), p. 1; Nijjar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> For an eye account of the advance of Timūr's army in the region, see Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. III (London, 1871), pp. 431, 493, etc.

<sup>6</sup> For details, see Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1940), p. 133; Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Vol. I (Kānpur, 1884), p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> R. Burn, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV (Cambridge, 1937), p. 68.

and loot by the timely action of Akbar when Sher Muḥammad Diwāna a servant of Bairam Khān, when the latter fell out with the emperor, created disturbance there and killed one Mir Dost Muḥammad who was sent to Sāmānā to manage its affairs by Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān.<sup>1</sup>

Under Jahāngīr's reign, Sāmānā was famous for its fine cloth and was mostly inhabited by the weaver community, who supplied silk and other types of textiles to the royal harem. The fine textiles produced here seem to have been known by the name Semianoes or Samyanoes.<sup>2</sup> In 1621, the East India Company is reported to have bought it at the rate of Rs. 2-1/2 to Rs. 4-1/2 per piece.<sup>3</sup> After this Sāmānā appears to have passed into oblivion.

Sāmānā seems to have had quite a few mosques and tombs, which, though 'magnificent' or 'restored' 'had several inscriptions on them'<sup>4</sup> but it is a pity that no systematic effort was made to copy these inscriptions, almost all of which have now disappeared or are untraceable. Fortunately, the Survey report made by Charles Rodgers mentions about half a dozen epigraphs (including one included in the present study), of which I could only trace one in the course of my tour in October 1971. According to him, the earliest available record was of the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), one of Jahāngīr (included in this article) and two of the time of Shāh Jahān.<sup>5</sup> It is surprising that Rodgers was not aware of one more inscription of Shāh Jahān which I discovered during my visit to the town. This epigraph belonged to the Imāmbārā in the Sayyidon-kā-Maḥalla (now called Maḥalla Chaklā) which is now converted into a Gurdwārā. It is an interesting record purporting the construction of a mansion, as we shall presently see. The inscription of Jahāngīr was noticed by Rodgers, but he has read its date as A.H. 1014 instead of 1024, a difference of one decade.

Taking this inscription first, it is carved on a marble slab, measuring 50 by 37 cm. which is fixed on the central outer arch of the three-domed Jāmi' mosque, which is situated in the north-west part of the town.<sup>6</sup> The right half portion of the central dome has fallen inside the central hall. Except for this, the general condition of the rest of the mosque is good. Architecturally, the mosque is in the tradition of the Lodi-Sūr monuments and not in the style of the Mughal buildings initiated by Akbar.

The epigraph consists of three couplets in Persian and written in relief in ordinary *Nasta'liq* letters. It records the construction of a mosque by Mīrzā Momin in A.H. 1024 (1614-15 A.D.) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr. The date is given in a chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the third couplet. Rodgers who was the first to notice this inscription and publish its reading three quarters of a century back had, due to the misreading of the chronogrammatic phrase, calculated the date as A.H. 1014 (1605-06 A.D.). He had mistaken the word مسجد for كسجد and hence the difference of 10 in the date.<sup>7</sup>

I have not been able to identify the builder viz. Mīrzā Momin from contemporary chronicles. Possibly, he was an official which would mean that but for this record, he would have remained unknown. Even otherwise, he appears to have been a man of local importance and hence the record under study is an important source at least for the local history.

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. II (Delhi, 1972), pp. 392-93.

<sup>2</sup> According to *DG*, p. 205, emperor Jahāngīr used to wear this cloth made by the weavers of Sāmānā whose descendants had in their possession *sanads* from the emperor.

<sup>3</sup> *IG*, p. 2, f.n.1.

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 133.

<sup>7</sup> Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The text has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بدور شاه نور الدین جهانگیر که حکمش بر همه روی زمین است  
 (۲) بنای خیر میرزا مومن افراخت که سعیش دایما در راه دین است  
 (۳) بتاریخش عطارد خوش رقم زد مسجد مومن للمسلمین است

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr, whose rule is (established) on the whole surface of the earth,

(2) Mīrzā Momin, who always strives in the path of Faith, erected (this) bountiful edifice.

(3) For its date, ('the Scribe of the Heaven') Mercury beautifully wrote, 'it is: *Verily the mosque of Momin* (lit. a believer) *is for the Muslims.*'

The chronogram yields A.H. 1024 (1614-15 A.D.).

The other inscription is published here for the first time. It was discovered by me while searching for the inscriptions of Sāmānā listed by Rodgers, who surprisingly omits to mention it.<sup>2</sup> The tablet bearing this inscription is fixed on the right enclosure wall of the passage of the gate of the Gurdwārā Singh Sufā Sāhib in Mahalla Chaklā in the heart of the town.<sup>3</sup> This building is reported to have been used as an Imāmbarā called Bārū in the pre-partition days, which after the migration of the Muslim population was converted into the Gurdwārā. There is a modern mosque in the premises just within the entrance gate. The inscription slab, measuring 114 by 47 cm., is fixed at a height of about a metre and a half from the ground and it is doubtful if it is *in situ*. It appears to have been brought from some other place for it records the construction of an 'abode of joy', as will be seen presently.

The inscription is in Persian verse, comprising five verses written in raised letters in finely executed artistic sets of horizontal panels, vertically separated from each other by geometrical figures, which coupled with its *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high quality, has made it an elegant epigraph. The text records the construction of a lofty palatial building designated in the text as 'an abode of happiness', and likened to a 'palace from Paradise'. The name of the builder is not explicitly given but from the manner he is spoken of viz. the Khān who is worthy of the sphere of Daulat (lit. good fortune), it is certain that it is Daulat Khān. The construction took place, the inscription further states, in A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.) under the superintendence of one Gopāl Bhatt and the work was executed by one Ishāq. The text also gives along with the Hijra year, the 6th regnal year which must pertain to Shāh Jahān whose name is surprisingly omitted in the text, but the 6th regnal year officially ended on the last day of Jumādā I 1043 (2nd December 1633).<sup>4</sup> Therefore, either there is some inadvertent mistake on the part of the sculptor in engraving

<sup>1</sup> There is a fine pun on the word Momin, which is the name of the builder and which also means a true believer.

<sup>2</sup> Rodgers, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 134.

<sup>4</sup> 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, part II (Calcutta, 1867), p. 1.

6 for 7 or in this region, the reckoning was different. Otherwise, the palaeography, the condition of the slab, the text, etc., preclude any doubt about the genuineness of the record.

As stated above, the builder appears to be Daulat Khān. He appears to me to be the same as the eldest son of Alf Khān Qā'im Khānī, a famous commander of Jahāngir and founder of the minor ruling dynasty of Fatehpur-Shaikhāwāṭi in Rājasthān, who held the rank of 2,000 personal and 1,500 horse and who died, after serving in various parts of the country but mostly in Mewāt and north Panjāb in A.H. 1035 (1626 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

Alf Khān was succeeded by his eldest son Daulat Khān as Nawwāb of Fatehpur-Shaikhāwāṭi, but during his father's life-time, he and his son Tāhir Khān were in the service of Jahāngir and Shah Jahān and constantly attended their court. He first held the rank of 1,000 personal and 800 horse under Shah Jahān's reign<sup>2</sup> and held charge of the Kāngrā fort upto A.H. 1049 (1639-40 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Five years later he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 personal and 1,000 horse and granted Nāgaur in his fief.<sup>4</sup> In A.H. 1056 (1646-47 A.D.), he was sent to Balkh and Badakhshān with the royal army under the command of Prince Murād Bakhsh.<sup>5</sup> It was in this expedition that his son Tāhir Khān is said to have died.<sup>6</sup> Later on he was appointed as the Qala'dār of Qandahār fort which, on betrayal by Shādī Khān,<sup>7</sup> he was forced to surrender to the Iranian forces. When in A.H. 1063 (1652-53 A.D.), the fort was again besieged and attacked by the imperial forces under the command of Dārā Shukūh, resulting in great loss of life and abandonment of siege,<sup>8</sup> Daulat Khān and many other high ranking officials were killed.<sup>9</sup>

If the above identification is correct, the epigraph would provide new information about Daulat Khān's association with Sāmānā, which is not otherwise mentioned in any other source. In the alternative, Daulat Khān may be a different official in which case too, the epigraph would be an important document. But I am very much inclined to believe that the epigraph refers to the former only.

The text has been read as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XVI (b)

اساس این طرب آباد جاوید	بفرخ ساعتی سعدی بنا شد	(۱)
بدان می ماند این فرخنده منزل	توگوئی قصر از جنت جدا شد	(۲)
ویا برجیست سعد این قصر عالی	که دولت خانه گردون لوا شد	(۳)
سزاوار سپهر دولت آن خان	که از عکسش فلک را دیده وا شد	(۴)
چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت	عجب فرخ بنائی با هوا شد	(۵)

<sup>1</sup> For the details of his career, see Jahāngir, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, T. & tr. H. Beveridge and A. Rogers (Delhi, 1968), pp. 143, 196, 223, 226, 239, 282, 397; 'Atā Muhammad, *Wāqī'at-i-Mughalīyah* (Delhi, 1931), pp. 54, 57, 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Lāhorī, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 485.

<sup>6</sup> 'Atā Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> B. P. Saksenā, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi* (Allahabad, 1962), pp. 224-25.

<sup>8</sup> B. C. Verma, *Foreign Policy of the Great Mughals* (Agra, 1967), p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> 'Atā Muhammad, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM SĀMĀNĀ PANJĀB

(a) Inscription of Jahāngīr dated A.H. 1024 ( p. 61 )



SCALE : 22

(b) Inscription of Shāh Jahān dated A.H. 1044 ( p. 62 )



SCALE : 14





## TRANSLATION

- (1) The foundation of this everlasting abode of happiness was laid at an auspicious and blessed moment.
- (2) This happy mansion appears as if a palace has been removed from Paradise (to the earth). A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.).
- (3) Or this lofty palace is an auspicious heavenly abode which has become the exalted residence (of one) whose standards are (as high as) the high heavens. Regnal year 6.
- (4) One who is worthy of the sphere of fortune, (namely) that Khān by whose reflected image, the eyes of the sky are opened wide (i.e. the sky is astonished). Work done by Iṣḥāq.
- (5) When I sought the year of its date, Widsom replied, 'It is: a wonderful, auspicious and airy building'. Superintended by Gopāl Bhatt.

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. The date given in the figure is A.H. 1044, and the chronogram would yield it only if the word *binā'ī* in the chronogrammatic phrase is taken to consist of two *yā* and a *hamza*, though it is normally taken to be one *yā* and one *hamzā*. As the date is explicitly given in figure as 1044 and the word *binā'ī* is so written as to indicate that the spelling with two *yā* and one *hamza* was intended by the composer for the reckoning, there is no doubt that the date is A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.).

## ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANHĀLĀ

BY DR. A. A. KĀDIRĪ, SENIOR EPIGRAPHICAL ASSISTANT

I propose to study in this article twelve 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions from Panhālā, a place of historical interest in the Kolhāpur district of Mahārāshṭra. These range in their dates from A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.) to A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and represent the reigns of four rulers of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, viz., Ismā'il (1516-34), Ibrāhīm I (1535-57), 'Alī I (1558-80) and Ibrāhīm II (1580-1636).

The earliest extant inscription from Panhālā was published in an earlier issue of this series,<sup>1</sup> where a brief resume of its history upto A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.) was given. It would therefore be better to carry forward this local history to A.H. 1022 (1611-12 A.D.), the date of the latest inscription of the present group, which will incidentally show the importance of these epigraphs for the local history of the fort.

From the earliest record dated A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.) studied below, it is clear that Malik Sikandar Haidarī who was, according to an earlier epigraph, the Thānadār of Panhālā in A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> continued to hold that post at least till A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.). After this date nothing is known about Panhālā or its Thānadārs till A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.), when according to inscription No. II, set up in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, one Yūsuf held the charge of the Panhālā fort. After this date, again, nothing is heard about the place till about A.H. 954 (1547-48 A.D.), when Ibrāhīm I visited Panhālā on a pleasure-trip, according to Firishṭa.<sup>3</sup> This is in a way corroborated by inscription No. III in which, Panhālā is referred to as the seat of government in the said year, when Dā'ūd Āqā was incharge of the place. The latter seems to have continued to govern Panhālā till the following year when, according to inscription No. IV, he constructed a tank. It was at about this time that Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar and Jangshid Qutb Shāh of Golcondā who followed the Shiite tenets tried to exploit their sectarian affinity with Asad Khān Lārī, an 'Ādil Shāhī official of great status, urging him to hand over the fort of Belgāum of which he was custodian to Nizām Shāh for monetary consideration. According to Firishṭa, Asad Khān spurned the overtures, imprisoned the persons involved in the offer, and in view of his illness, requested his master to visit Belgāum.<sup>4</sup> But the Ahmadnagar historian 'Alī Tabātabā would have us believe that Asad Khān fell a victim to treachery and invited Burhān, then besieging Bijāpur, to come in person to Belgāum, to receive the charge of this strategic fort from him, but Ibrāhīm having somehow got an inkling of this, marched to Belgāum a couple of days before the appointed rendezvous of the Ahmadnagar king with Asad Khān there.<sup>5</sup> Firishṭa states at another place that being hard pressed by the manoeuvres of the allied forces of the Vijayanagara king Rām Rāj and Burhān, Ibrāhīm left Bijāpur which was later besieged by Burhān and went to Panhālā.<sup>6</sup> On his way, he appears to have paid a visit to Belgāum on the request of his ailing general Asad Khān who ultimately breathed his last in the beginning

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1964, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Vol. II (Kānpur, 1884), p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> 'Alī Tabātabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āzihir* (Hyderābād, 1936), p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

of A.H. 956 (1549 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> It is possible that having arranged the affairs at Belgāum, Ibrāhīm might have left for Panhālā, which was more formidable and hence more secure than Belgāum. This inference is corroborated by Ṭabāṭabā, according to whom, Burhān, having on his way to Belgāum got news that Ibrāhīm had reached Belgāum and fortified it with men and provision, changed his route, marched on to Panhālā and laid siege to the fort. But finding the task impossible, Nizām Shāh concentrated on lower fortifications which were reduced after a fight lasting for a day and a half only, and after having destroyed them completely, he left for Satārā.<sup>2</sup> Firishṭa did not know the details, according to his own confession, of the three battles fought between Burhān and Ibrāhīm,<sup>3</sup> but he refers to the expedition of the allied forces of Rām Rāj and Burhān against Bijāpur, as a result of which Ibrāhīm, finding himself unequal to the task of containing them, went to Panhālā. Burhān invested Bijāpur but fell ill and had to be removed to Ahmadnagar where he died in the same year.<sup>4</sup>

It is a fact that neither the contemporary chronicler like Rafi’u’d-Dīn<sup>5</sup> nor the later historian Zubairī,<sup>6</sup> mentions these events pertaining to Panhālā. Nor are they taken note of in dealing with the events of this period.<sup>7</sup> For example, the Imperial Gazetteer merely gives this information that ‘on the establishment of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur in 1489, Panhālā was fortified with great care’, and ‘in 1659 immediately after the murder of Afzal Khan, Shivaji took Panhālā from Bijapur’,<sup>8</sup> while the State Gazetteer enlightens us that ‘Ibrahim I and II took a lot of interest in Panhālā and its fortifications. This is shown not only by the numerous Persian inscriptions left by them but also by the architectural style of the monuments at the place’.<sup>9</sup> But far more surprising is that Dr. Rādhay Shyām in his history of the Ahmadnagar kingdom should have chosen to ignore Panhālā and events about it, so connected with Ahmadnagar history, completely.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the fort of Panhālā contains inscriptions of the time of the Bijāpur king ‘Alī I, which evidently do not seem to have been known to all these authorities.

Resuming the narration of the events of Panhālā fort, we next find (*vide* inscription No. V) that in A.H. 964 (1556-57 A.D.), Malik Khidr, the Sar Khawāss, was very probably incharge of the fort. For the next two decades, nothing is known about its history. But from an epigraph (No. VI, *infra*), it would appear that in A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.), one Shamsu’d Dīn, the Nā’ib-i Ghaibat of ‘Alī I was incharge there. He seems to have been succeeded, two years later, by one Ahmad ‘Alī son of Raun ‘Alī, entitled Shams Shiru’l-Mulk (*vide* inscription No. VII). Some time between this and A.H. 988 (1580 A.D.), a little after the murder of ‘Alī I, Mir Kamālū’d-Dīn Husain Injū; entitled Murtaḍā Khān, seems to have been imprisoned at Panhālā, for we are told by the contemporary chronicler Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shirāzī that Kishwar Khān Lārī tried to do away with Murtaḍā Khān Injū and his brother Shāh Qasim<sup>11</sup> as he did in the case of Mustafā Khān Ardastānī at Bankāpur,<sup>12</sup> but the letter of ‘Abdu’l-Mu’min addressed to Kishwar Khān having

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Zubairī, *Basā’ir-u’s-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-10.

<sup>3</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shirāzī, *Tadhkiratu’l-Mulūk* (MS).

<sup>6</sup> Zubairī, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-64.

<sup>7</sup> Such as, for example, *Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG)*, Vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p. 396; *Gazetteers of India, Maharashtra State, Kolhapur District (Kolhapur Dt. Gz.)*, Bombay, 1960, p. 67; Dr. Rādhay Shyām, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 57-94.

<sup>8</sup> *IG*, p. 396.

<sup>9</sup> *Kolhapur Dt. Gaz.*, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Rādhay Shyām, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-94.

<sup>11</sup> Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shirāzī, *op. cit.*, ff. 122-23; Zubairī, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>12</sup> *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 42.

fallen in the hands of Ikhlas Khān, the plan misfired and orders were issued to release the two brothers who left Panhālā and came to Bijāpur.<sup>1</sup>

A little earlier, Kishwar Khān had sent a contingent under the command of Afdal Khān Shīrāzī to relieve the garrison at Bidar which was besieged by the allied forces of Ibrāhīm of Golconda and Murtadā of Ahmadnagar. The faction fights at Bijāpur which ultimately resulted in the death of Kishwar Khān, having lowered the morale of the 'Ādil Shāhī forces, Afdal Khān had to retreat to Bijāpur.<sup>2</sup> At this stage, Ikhlas Khān, the new prime-minister who had succeeded Kishwar Khān, despatched Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī to Panhālā to bring the treasure accumulated there to the capital.<sup>3</sup>

After this, we do not hear about Panhālā till A.H. 1016 (1607-08 A.D.), when according to inscription No. IX, one Āqā Maqṣūd constructed a palace on the terrace of the fort in the reign of Ibrāhīm II. This Āqā Maqṣūd appears to have been in charge of Panhālā at least till A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.), when according to inscription No. X, he constructed a mosque at Ibrāhīm-purā, situated outside the upper fortification. Most probably this outer portion of the fortification was destroyed during the Nizām Shāhī siege mentioned above.

From the above, it will be seen that much of the history of Panhālā owes its reconstruction to the epigraphic records. These records, as will be seen presently, mention a number of officials of rank, most of them unknown from other sources, apart from scribes. The former include such names as Malik Sikandar Haidarī (the Thānadār), Malik Yūsuf the Ābdār, Malik Dā'ūd Āqā the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat, Shamsu'd-Dīn the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat, Malik Khidr the Sar Khawāss, Ahmad 'Alī entitled Shamshurū'l-Mulk and Āqā Maqṣūd. Some of these held high ranks and the rest were also officials of note.

From the calligraphical point of view too, these epigraphs are not without interest. Four of the twelve epigraphs are inscribed in Nasta'liq character—the earliest of these, the second of the group, is dated A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.)—of no particular merit in itself, but their designers have sought to impart them artistic touch through floral or decorative motifs, but the effect on the whole is not very pleasing. The remaining eight are in Naskh or Thulth style which is uniformly good with the exception of one inscription (No. VII) where too it is partly quite good. The style of writing in these seven epigraphs would have made these very attractive specimens of calligraphy were it not for the fact that the designing of the text particularly the placing of the letters and words leaves much to be desired. Fortunately, four of these epigraphs also contain the names of their designers, viz. Maulānā Rajab who wrote three epigraphs and Muhammad son of Farīdu'd-Dīn, both of whom appear to be talented calligraphers. It is a pity that in the case of the rest, particularly Inscription Nos. I and II, the names of the calligraphers are not known.

Almost all of these records are metrical but the quality of verse presented by them is mediocre except in the case of Inscription No. II. With these introductory remarks, we now proceed with the study of the epigraphs themselves.

## I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 918

The first inscription is carved on the left of the three slabs measuring 68 by 34 cm. which are fixed on the platform of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Dīn.<sup>4</sup> The Dargāh, the most important of

<sup>1</sup> Zubairī, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Rafī'u'd-Dīn, op. cit., f. 123; Zubairī, op. cit.; Rādhey Shyam, op. cit., pp. 172-73.

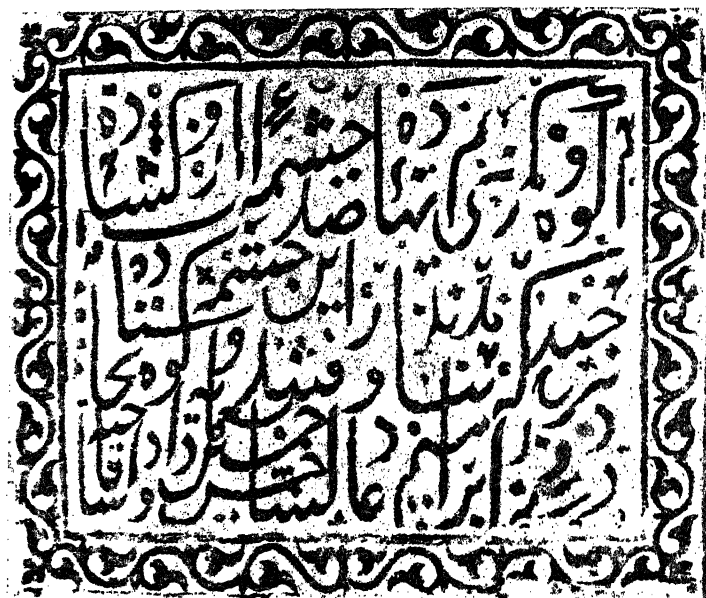
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 192.



‘ADIL SHĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANHĀLĀ MAHĀRĀSHTRA

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 955 ( p. 71 )



SCALE : .15

(b) Inscription dated A.H. 918 ( p. 67 )



SCALE : .2

the Muslim buildings at the place, is about 9 metres square and 15 metres high including the dome.

Evidently the slab is not *in situ* as it records the construction of a bastion by Sikandar, in A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.). The text comprising two Persian verses is inscribed in two lines in relief in *Thulth* characters of a high order, but the name of the calligrapher is not mentioned. The date is contained in a chronogram.

The builder is none other than Malik Sikandar Haidarī, the Thānadār of Panhālā, who had, according to another inscription studied in a past issue of this series, excavated a tank and constructed its gate a year earlier.<sup>1</sup>

The text has been deciphered by me as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

بروج بهشت [ا]ست تاریخ این	(۱) زمن بشنوالے مرد باریک بین
سکندر بنام و سکندر شعار	(۲) زبانی خبر میدهم گوش دار

TRANSLATION

(1) Listen to me, O connoisseur: Its date is (contained in the phrase) *Burūj-i-Bihisht* (i.e. the bastions of Paradise).

(2) Hark! I am informing you about the builder. (He is) Sikandar (i.e. Alexander) in name and (also) Sikandar in quality.

The following English rendering of the epigraph was given in the old series of the Bombay Gazetteer of the Kolhapur district, but it is unintelligible: ‘Oh friend listen to the voice of the assembly. The able man Sikandar converted the hill into a road, and named the Sikandar bastion with this date. It informs one of 806 with a golden call’.<sup>2</sup>

## II. INSCRIPTION OF IBRĀHĪM I, DATED A.H. 946

The second inscription of the group and first of Ibrāhīm I occupying a total space of about 1.55 m. by 42 cm. appears on the facade of the structure over the step-well called Andhār-Bāoli in the Fort.<sup>3</sup> Its text consists of seven couplets in Persian which are of a fairly good quality and are carved in relief in ordinary *Nasta‘liq* characters. The haphazard placing of letters has rendered its decipherment a difficult task. The epigraph states that Yūsuf the royal Ābdār (i.e. Water-bearer), constructed at Panhālā, a bastion and a tank with a structure above the latter in the year A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.), in the reign of ‘Ādil Shāh (i.e. Ibrāhīm I).

This record was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, where its following English translation is given: ‘In Panhala at the commencement of his rule, may God increase his prosperity, good fortune and rank. This will remain as a glorious memorial for him. Now A.H. 909 Abu Yusuf is the official entrusted with the construction of this work. The cause of this building being the best of its day is this, that this lofty building was completed in the reign of the king of the age,

<sup>1</sup> *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 44, pl. XIV c. It is now preserved in the Kolhapur Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency (BG)*, vol. XXIV, Kolhapur (Bombay 1886), p. 422, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 204.

**Adil Shāh.** A bastion, a reservoir, and this building were constructed (as it were) on the heads of the black-eyed damsels of Paradise. A life-giving spring flows from its reservoir and they placed it on the shelf (as it were) of a palace, by the order of a man of high and excellent rank. With victory, with happiness and excellence, this was brought into sight.<sup>1</sup>

The above rendering, apart from the wrong reading of the date, the name of builder etc. is hopelessly corrupt and misleading. The name of the builder is Yūsuf, the *Ābdār* and not Abū Yūsuf. Unfortunately nothing could be gleaned about this Yūsuf from the Persian chronicles available to me. But he appears to have been an official of note and held the honorary rank of the *Ābdār*, i.e. person in charge of the drinks for the king. The epigraph is thus an important document which has perpetuated the name of the 'Ādil Shāhī official and has also preserved a small bit of information about the posts connected with the royal person like *Ābdār*.

I have read the text as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII(b)

در پناه بدولت والے	شد تمام این عمارت عالی
زاده الله بخت دولت جام	شهر یار زمانه عادلشاه
یادگار از خورتنی و خیبر	برج حوض و عمارت بر سر
طاق ایوان کشیده برکیوان	آب حوض ز چشمه حیوان
بانی این عمارت از بنیاد	یوسف آبدار نیک نهاد
نمصد و چل گذشته از هجرت	شس دیگر فضای بی علت
این عمارت به بهترین روزی	شد مرتب بسعد و فیروزی

#### TRANSLATION

- (1) At Pan(h)āla, this lofty edifice was constructed during the government of the Lord,
- (2) the king of the age 'Ādil Shāh, may Allāh increase his fortune, reign and dignity.
- (3) (This) bastion, tank and the structure above it, reminds one of *Khuwārnay*<sup>2</sup> and *Khaibar*.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) The arch of its portico raised its head to the seventh heaven ; the water of its tank is from the Spring of Life.
- (5) The builder of this edifice, from its foundation (i.e. anew) is Yūsuf the *Ābdār* , of good disposition.

<sup>1</sup> BG, p. 422, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A palace in Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> A fort near Medina.





(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 954 ( P. 69 )



SCALE : '09

(b) Inscription of the same king dated A.H. 946 ( p. 68 )



SCALE : '12

(6) Nine hundred and forty years had passed after the Migration; add (for the date) to it six for no reason (A.H. 946=1539-40 A.D.),

(7) when this edifice was completed on the best of the days, with happiness and victory.

### III. INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME KING, DATED A.H. 954

The slab bearing the second inscription of Ibrāhīm I and the third record of the group, is fixed on the facade of the middle gate of the Tin-Darwāza gate of the Fort.<sup>1</sup> The text is inscribed within a large panel and the all round margin enclosing it. The panel contains two lines of Persian prose commencing with the famous opening verse from the celebrated Persian poem *Makhran-i-Asrār*.<sup>2</sup> The margin has on the right, top, left and bottom, respectively, a line in Persian prose, five hemistiches in Persian verse, one hemistich in Persian verse and a Quatrain of the celebrated Persian poet ‘Umar Khayyām,<sup>3</sup> all carved in relief in *Nasta‘līq* characters of a fairly good type. The writing in the panel is set against floral background.

The epigraph states that in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh the buildings at Panhālā, which is spoken of as ‘the seat of government’ were either repaired or built anew in A.H. 954 (1547-48 A.D.) during the regime of Malik Dā‘ūd Āqā, the Nā‘ib-i-Ghaibat, that is to say, king’s Deputy. It further states that Dā‘ūd Āqā constructed a reservoir of sweet drinking water. The text is stated therein to have been written by one Sālār son of Aḥmad, the Dabīr (Secretary).

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer; its rendering there, though not without mistakes, is fairly accurate in stating the purport.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing could be gleaned about Malik Dā‘ūd Āqā, from the contemporary sources, but he continued to be at Panhālā at least for one more year according to the next inscription. These two records are therefore quite important. The one under study is also important as it corroborates the statement of Firishṭa that at about this time, Ibrāhīm I had left Bijāpur and took shelter at Panhālā,<sup>5</sup> for which reason, evidently, the appellation ‘Dārū’s-Saltanat (i.e. the seat of the government) Panhālā Fort’ has been used in the text. The inscription has also preserved the name of a calligrapher of some merit. This man, Sālār, was also a secretary, as can be easily surmised from his surname Dabīr.

The text has been read by me as follows :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVIII(a)

(a) Main panel.

(۱) بِسْمِ اَلِه (کذا) الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - هَسْتُ کَلِیْدِ دُرْ گَنْجِ حَکِیْمِ  
تَجْدِیْدِ وَ تَحْدِیْثِ عِمَارَاتِ دَارِ السُّلْطَنَتِ قَلْعَه پَنَاهِ دُرْ اِیَّامِ دَوْلَتِ خُسْرُومِ (کذا)  
(۲) جِهَانِیَّائے سُلْطَنَتِ پَنَاهِ اِبْرَاهِیْمِ عَادِلْشَاهِ خَلْدِ مَلْکِه فِی تَارِیْخِ سَنَه اَرْبَعِ خَمْسِیْنِ تَسْعَمِیَّاهِ  
دُرْکَا دِ [د] مَلْکِ دَاوُدِ آقَا نَایِبِ غَیْبَتِ کَاتِبِه سَالَارِ بَنِ اَحْمَدِ دَبِیْر

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 203. It measures 1.78 m. by 48 cm.

<sup>2</sup> This *Mathnavi* poem is by Nizāmī Ganjavī, a twelfth century Persian poet of great eminence.

<sup>3</sup> *Rubā‘iyyāt-i-‘Umar-i-Khayyām* (Lucknow, 1955), p. 38, No. 279, where the order of the hemistiches is different.

<sup>4</sup> *BG*, p. 423, No. 7. The translation of the text in the margin is also faulty.

<sup>5</sup> *Firishṭa*, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

(b) *Margins.*

## i Right :

بنای خیر این آب داؤد آقا کند

## ii Top :

(۱) بنای چنین در همه روی [زمین] نیست  
 آبی که درو هست کم از ماے معین نیست  
 (۲) هرکس که بنوشید همه گفت که رحمت  
 بر بانی او باد که خیری به ازین نیست  
 (۳) برسنگ چنین نوشت نقاش

## iii Left :

دنیا نکند وفا تو خوش باش

## iv Bottom :

در دل نتوان درخت اندوه نشاند  
 همواره کتاب خرمی باید خواند  
 می باید خورد و کام دل باید راند  
 پیداست که <sup>۱</sup>در جهان چند خواهی ماند

## TRANSLATION

(a) (1) The formula *In the name of the Beneficent, the Merciful* is the key to the treasure-house of the judicious Lord.

The renovation and (new) construction of the buildings at the seat of the government, Panhālā Fort, (took place) in the reign of the king

(2) having sovereignty over the world, the asylum of the kingdom, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, may his kingdom be perpetuated, in the year four (and) fifty (and) nine hundred (A.H. 954= 1547-48 A.D.), during the time of Malik Dā'ūd Āqā, the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat (lit. Deputy in Absence). Its writer is Sālār son of Aḥmad, the Dabīr (i.e. Secretary).

(b) i. This tank (lit. bountiful edifice of water) was excavated by Dā'ūd Āqā.

ii. (1) Such an edifice is not to be found on the whole surface of the earth; the water which it contains is not inferior to the limpid water (of Paradise).

(2) Whosoever drank from it exclaimed, 'May the mercy (of God) be upon its builder, for there is no bounty better than this'.

(3) The stone-carver engraved on the stone thus :

iii. The world is not faithful (i.e. will not last), so be merry.

iv. (1) The shrub of sorrow cannot be planted in the heart; the book of enjoyment must be read at all times.

<sup>1</sup> This should have been چند در جهان.

(2) Wine ought to be drunk and the desires of the heart ought to be fulfilled; (for), it is obvious, how long can one live in this world?

#### IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME RULER, DATED A.H. 955

The third record of Ibrāhīm I which is also in Persian prose and verse may be seen on the western wall of the Nāg Jhari in the Fort.<sup>1</sup> Carved on a slab measuring 66 by 52 cm., it runs into three lines in Persian, two of which contain two couplets and one a line in prose. The text is executed in relief in *Nasta’līq* characters which resemble that of the inscription just noticed. A floral border runs all around the text.

The epigraph records that the top of the mountain had been flattened as a result of which a hundred springs of water were released. It also states that though innumerable persons have come and gone, the spring and the mountain had withstood the test of time. The particular spring on which it now occurs, was constructed, according to the text, during the time of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh in A.H. 955 (1548-49 A.D.) by Dā’ūd Āqā. The builder is the same as the builder of the reservoir mentioned in the previous epigraph.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, the rendering in which is fairly correct.<sup>2</sup>

The text as read by me is as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XVII(a)

(۱) کوه و کمری بهم نهاده صد چشمه آب از و کشاده  
 (۲) هر چند که بیامدند و رفتند این چشمه و کوه بجا ستاده  
 (۳) در دور ابراهیم عادلشاه خمس خمسين تسعمایه داود آقا ساخته

#### TRANSLATION

(1) The mountain and its middle having been put together, a hundred springs of water were brought forth.

(2) However much people have come and gone, this spring and the mountain have stood in their place.

(3) In the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh (in the year) five (and) fifty (and) nine hundred (A.H. 955=1548-49 A.D.), Dā’ūd Āqā constructed (this).

#### V. ANOTHER RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM I, DATED A.H. 964

The fifth record of the group and fourth of Ibrāhīm I, occurs on the western wall of the tank near the Dargāh of Sa’d-ud-Dīn mentioned above<sup>3</sup> and is carved on a slab measuring 1.20 m. by 50 cm. It consists of three lines of writing comprising five Persian couplets, which

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *BG*, p. 423, No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 200.

is executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters; the style of writing is the same as in the previous record, and it is not unlikely that the two epigraphs were inscribed by one and the same person. The metrical text is of poor quality.

The epigraph assigns the construction of a tank designated *Chashma-i-Khidr* to Malik *Khidr* the *Sar Khawāss* in A.H. 964 (1556-57 A.D.), during the reign of *Ibrāhīm I*.

This epigraph was also published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.<sup>1</sup> Available contemporary Persian chronicles fail to identify Malik *Khidr*, whom the text designates as *Sar Khawāss* and who must, therefore, have been an official of note. There is a village *Khidarpur* in *Kolhāpur* district<sup>2</sup> which may have been founded by or have had some association with him. The epigraph is thus a valuable document both for the local history of *Panhālā* and for having preserved to posterity the name of an official and post held by him. The exact duties of the post are difficult to be defined.

My reading of the text is as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate IX(b)

که آرد برون آب خوش از حجر	(۱) بنام م (کذا) خدا صانع دادگر
ظفر فر براهیم شاه گزین	بعهد شهنشاه نام آفرین
بناء ملک خضر شد سر خواص	(۲) عمارت که بینی چذین حوض خاص
(۳) که این چشمه خضر شد یادگار	بقاریخ بد نهصد و شصت و چار
بحق نبی و علی السلام	الهی نگهداریش تا قیام

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Just Maker, who brings forth sweet water from the rock.

In the reign of the glorious and victorious emperor, *Ibrāhīm Shāh* the chosen one,

(2) such a special reservoir which you see was constructed by Malik *Khidr*, the *Sar Khawāss*.

As to the year, it was nine hundred and sixty and four (A.H. 964=1556-57 A.D.), when this Spring of *Khidr*,<sup>3</sup> became a memento (of his).

(3) O God ! Preserve it till the day of Resurrection, for the sake of the Prophet and 'Ali. Peace (be on them).

## VI. INSCRIPTION OF 'ALI I, DATED A.H. 985

This epigraph, sixth of the lot and first of 'Ali I, is now preserved in the *Kolhāpur* Museum.<sup>4</sup> The inscriptional tablet measuring 92 by 75 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse carved in relief in *Naskh* characters, of a fairly good type, which state that in the reign of emperor 'Ali I,

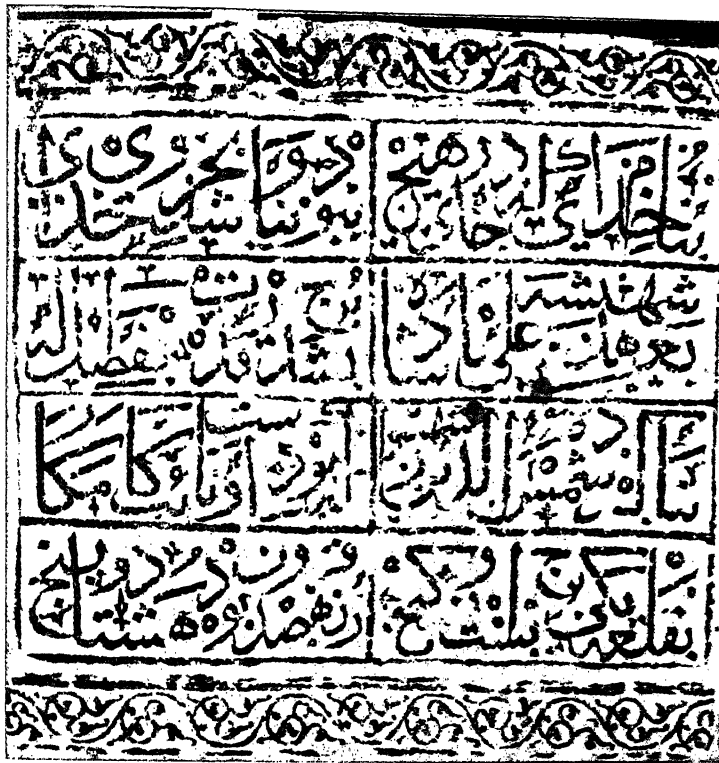
<sup>1</sup> BG, p. 429, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, under *Khidarpur*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a pun intended here. The spring of the water of Life is associated with Prophet *Khidr*.

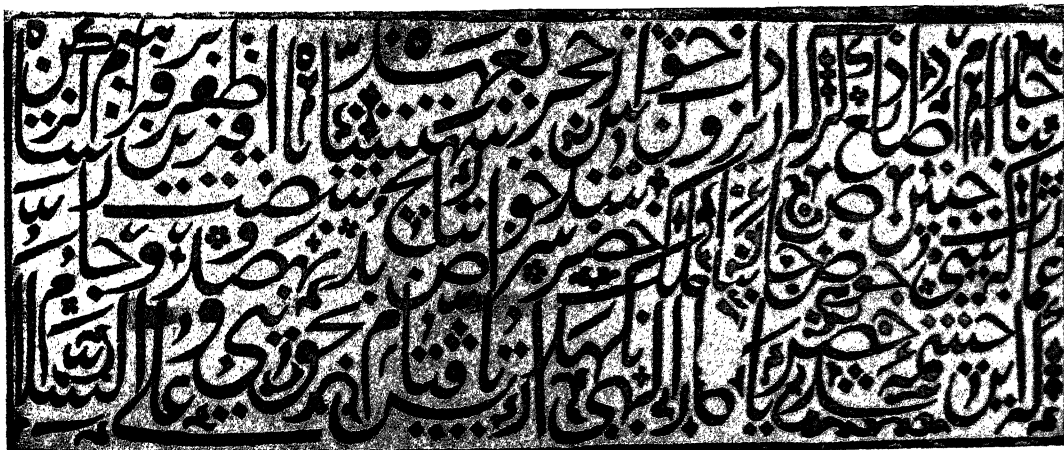
<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1933-34, No. D, 190.

(a) Epigraph of 'Alī I dated A.H. 985 (p. 73)



SCALE : ·11

(b) Record of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 964 (p. 72)



SCALE : ·12





a bastion called the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (lit. Bastion of Might) was constructed by Shamsu’d-Din, the king’s Deputy, out of the treasures of Panhālā, in A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

The notice of this record also occurs in the Bombay Gazetteer, and it is fairly correct. The only error of some consequence is that the builder and the governor is called ‘chief of cavalry’ and ‘deputy governor’ which is not correct.

The epigraph furnishes the valuable information that Shamsu’d-Din was the king’s Deputy and incharge of the fort of Panhālā. Persian chronicles appear to be silent about him.<sup>1</sup>

The quality of the verse is quite good and the style of writing is also fine *Naskh*. The pleasing calligraphical effect is accentuated by a vertical floral border occurring at each of the right and left ends of the text which has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(۱) بنام خدائی که در هیچ جای نبود و نباشد بجز وی خدای  
(۲) بعد شهنشه علی بادشاه بشد برج قدرت بفضل اله  
(۳) بنا کرده شمس الدین شهنسوار که بودست او نائب کامگار  
(۴) بقلعه یکی برج بست او ز گنج ز نهصد فزون بود هشتاد و پنج

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, except Whom, there was no and there will never be any other God anywhere.

(2) In the reign of the emperor ‘Alī, the king, the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (i.e. Bastion of Might) was constructed through the bounty of God.

(3) It was built by Shamsu’d-Din, an expert rider,<sup>2</sup> who was the victorious deputy (i.e. governor).

(4) He constructed a bastion in the fort out of the treasures (at Panhālā);<sup>3</sup> it was eighty and five above nine hundred (A.H. 985=1577-78 A.D.).

VII. ANOTHER RECORD OF ‘ĀLĪ I, DATED A.H. 987

The slab bearing the second record of ‘Ālī I and seventh of the group is also preserved in the Kolhāpur Museum<sup>5</sup> and measures 1.25 m. by 72 cm. At the time the inscription was noticed in the Gazetteer, the tablet was lying near the Ambā Bāi’s temple at Panhālā and was believed

<sup>1</sup> He does not appear to have to do anything with a contemporary official of similar rank Faulād Khān, the King’s Deputy at Sholāpur, whose name was Shamsu’d-Din (G. H. Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol. V, pt. 1, Poona, 1961, p. 121). For he already held the title Faulād Khān in Shuhūr 964 i.e. A.H. 971 (1563-64 A.D.), while the present record fourteen years later mentions no title.

<sup>2</sup> Could Ganj here be intended for *Ganch* the local corruption of *gach*, that is mortar?—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps not correct to translate Shahsawār as the ‘Chief of the Cavalry’ as done in BG, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Please see foot-note above.

<sup>5</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D; 191.

to have originally belonged to the Tiger Gate.<sup>1</sup> A portrait engraved in relief, of a lion facing left with a raised right paw and tail occupies slightly less than three-fourths of the entire tablet on the right side, while the remaining portion on the left is inscribed by the Persian text running into six lines executed in bold *Thulth* characters. A Persian couplet, or rather what is intended as such, for its composition is mediocre, executed in *Naskh* characters, is inscribed below the raised paw of the animal. The *Naskh* writing is superior to the *Thulth* one, but though of fine quality, it loses its impressiveness due to the crowded arrangement of its letters.

The inscription records that Aḥmad 'Alī, son of Raun 'Alī,<sup>2</sup> entitled *Shamshīru'l-Mulk*, a devoted servant of 'Alī (I) constructed a bastion in A.H. 987 (1579-80 A.D.). The rendering of this record in the Bombay Gazetteer reads: 'The Lion of God, the victorious one, Alī, son of Abi Talib Ahmad Ali, who hath the title of Shamshir-ul-Mulk, is in heart and soul, the slave of that Alī. The date of the building of this bastion was A.H. 987'.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noted that in the Gazetteer, the letters between *علي* and *المخاطب* have not been taken notice of or have been intentionally overlooked. These letters could either be read as *بن رونعلي* or *بر رونعلي*. In either case, the builder Aḥmad 'Alī's father's name is mentioned in the epigraph. It cannot be asserted with certainty whether the title *Shamshīru'l-Mulk* occurring after the father's name belongs to the father or the son, though it is reasonable to hold that the son must have been so entitled. Contemporary chronicles do not help us in identifying either of the two, but a record dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.), from Mudgal in Rāichur district of Mysore<sup>4</sup> and another dated *Shuhūr* year 950 i.e. A.H. 956 (1550 A.D.),<sup>5</sup> from Rāichur Fort, mention one *Shamshīru'l-Mulk* as an officer of Ibrāhīm 'Adil *Shāh*. At least *Shamshīru'l-Mulk* of the Rāichur record is an adherent of the Shi'ite Creed, like Aḥmad 'Alī of our record and hence could have been the father of the latter. In that case, the title would have to refer to the father and not the son or that the son had, as usual, inherited the father's title. Again, as the name of 'Alī, the fourth Caliph, has already been mentioned in the opening lines, 'Alī in the fourth line of the text should most probably refer to the reigning king 'Alī I, who was also a devout Shi'a, which fact seems to have been overlooked in its notice in the Bombay Gazetteer.<sup>6</sup>

My reading of the text is as under :—

#### TEXT

#### Plate XX (a)

#### (a) Left side.

(۱) اسد الله الغالب  
 (۲) علی ابن ابی طالب  
 (۳) از دل و جان  
 (۴) هست غلام علی احمد  
 (۵) علی بن (۹) رونعلي المخا  
 (۶) طب بشمشير الملك

<sup>1</sup> BG, p. 424, No. 11.

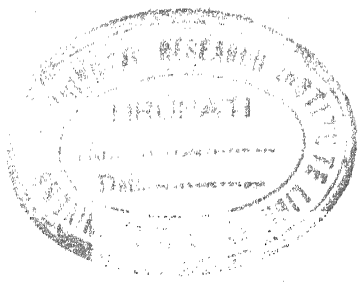
<sup>2</sup> The name Raun 'Alī is quite uncommon.

<sup>3</sup> BG, p. 424, No. 11.

<sup>4</sup> ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 125.

<sup>5</sup> EIAPS, 1963, pp. 63-64, pl. XX (b).

<sup>6</sup> BG, loc. cit.



(a) Inscription of 'Alī I dated A.H. 987 ( p. 74 )



SCALE : ·14

(b) Epigraph of Ibrāhīm II dated A.H. 994 ( p. 75 )



SCALE : ·12

(b) *Under the lion's paw.*<sup>1</sup>

در تواریخ برج این عمارتی که بست که بود نهصد و هشتاد و هفت از هجرت

TRANSLATION

(a) (1-2) 'Alī son of Abi Tālib, the Lion of Allāh the Overpowering.

(3-6) From heart and soul (i.e. sincere) servant of 'Alī (i.e. 'Alī I 'Ādil Shāh) (is) Aḥmad 'Alī, son (?) of Raun 'Alī, entitled Shamshīru'l-Mulk.

(b) For the date of the construction of the bastion of this edifice, (know) that it was nine hundred and eighty and seven from the Migration (A.H. 987=1579-80 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED A.H. 994

The eighth record of the group and first of Ibrāhīm II is inscribed on the central slab fixed on the platform in the compound of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Dīn, mentioned above,<sup>2</sup> which is obviously not *in situ*. The slab measuring 1.50 m. by 52 cm. contains two lines of writing of which, the first contains *Nād-i-'Alī* and the second, which is in Persian prose, the historical text, stating that the gate of the fort was built by Maqṣūd Khān, an official, in the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in A.H. 994 (1586 A.D.). The style of writing is refreshingly beautiful *Nasikh*. The calligrapher is Mullā Rajab, who has also inscribed two more epigraphs (Nos. IX and X).

The Bombay Gazetteer has noticed only the historical part of this epigraph but its rendering which follows, is faulty and misleading: 'In the reign of the victorious Ibrahim Adil Shah. His servant was Maksud Aka, and he built a gate of the Panhala fortress, in the date of the year Shahur San 994. The inscriber of this was Malaz Ghufuran'.<sup>3</sup>

In the above rendering, there is no mention of the *Nād-i-'Alī*, the name of the builder is given as Maksud Aka instead of Maqṣūd, Khā, the year is stated to be in *Shuhūr* San, while it is not so in the text and lastly, the name of the scribe Mullā Rajab is deciphered as Malaz Ghufuran.

The text has been deciphered by me as under:—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(۱) ناد علیا مظهر العجائب تجده عوناً لك في النوا[ا]ئب  
كل هم و غم سينجلي بولايتك يا علي يا علي يا علي  
(۲) در عهد ابوالمظفر ابراهيم عادلشاه دروازه قلعه بنا نموده خادم مقصود غفر ذنوبه  
در تاريخ سنه اربع تسعين تسعمايه كته ملا رجب

TRANSLATION

(1) Invoke 'Alī the manifestation of wonders. You will find him succour in miseries.

All grief and sorrow will soon disappear, by thy friendship (with God), O 'Alī O 'Alī O 'Alī!

<sup>1</sup> In BG, loc. cit. it is stated to be on a separate stone.

<sup>2</sup> ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 193.

<sup>3</sup> BG, p. 424.

(2) In the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, (this) gate of the fort was constructed by the servant Maqṣūd, may his sins be pardoned, in the year four (and) nintey (and) nine hundred (A.H. 994=1586 A.D.). Written by Mullā Rajab.

The builder Maqṣūd, for once, may be identified satisfactorily. We are told of one Maqṣūd Khān who was in the employ of the king. When in A.H. 988 (1580 A.D.), taking advantage of confusion consequent upon the death of 'Alī I, 'Ainu'l-Mulk imprisoned the Abyssinian nobles Ikhlas Khān, Hamid Khān and Dilāwar Khān and was taking them out of Bijāpur in chains, Maqṣūd Khān along with his companions and others followed them and intercepting 'Ainu'l-Mulk at the Allāhpur Gate, freed them and brought them to the new king.<sup>1</sup> 'Ainu'l-Mulk now apprehending trouble from the royal slaves precipitately made way to his fief.<sup>2</sup> But the Abyssinians too, on their part, nurtured apprehension from the royal slaves as well as other Deccani nobles and tried to disperse them by appointing them to distant forts and places.<sup>3</sup> It was as a result of this strategy perhaps that Maqṣūd Khān was sent to Panhālā as its commandant at about this time i.e. some time after A.H. 988. He is likely to have continued in that capacity till after A.H. 994 (1586 A.D.), the date of the record under study. Some time before Dhul-Hijja 1003 (August 1596), as Superintendent of the royal elephants, he is reported to have taken part in the battle against Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh.<sup>4</sup> That he was a foreigner Turk from Georgia, is stated by Firishṭa,<sup>5</sup> and that is why in the next two records (Nos. IX, X), which are written by the same scribe Maulānā Rajab, he is called Maqṣūd Āqā. These records are the only source which indicate Maqṣūd Khān's association with Panhālā.

#### IX. ANOTHER RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED SHUHŪR 1008

The ninth epigraph of the group and the second of Ibrāhīm II, occurs on the western wall of the dining hall of the Inspection Bungalow<sup>6</sup> in the Fort, which is known as Sajjhā Kothī.<sup>7</sup> The slab on which it is engraved in relief measures 85 by 50 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse, executed in fairly good *Thulth* characters, but the quality of the verse is mediocre.

The epigraph states that Maqṣūd Āqā constructed on the terrace of the fort a pleasant palace, one Nauras yard in width and two Nauras yards in height, in Shuhur 1008 i.e. A.H. 1016 (1607-08 A.D.). It was written by Maulānā Rajāb, the scribe of the previous record.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Gazetteer where its English rendering is not without mistakes but it does convey the purport fairly accurately except that it takes Rajab, the name of the calligrapher, as the month in which the construction took place and that it does not mention Nauras Gaz<sup>8</sup> but only Nauras which by itself is not a term indicating measure of length. The term only indicates nine times, for we commonly come across terms such as Nauras-Hon i.e. nine Hons, etc., in the royal orders of Ibrāhīm II<sup>9</sup> and his successors.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, 157; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

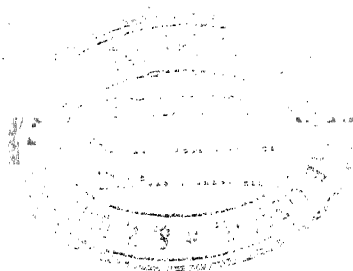
<sup>6</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 206.

<sup>7</sup> This palace, on the terrace of the Panhālā hill, is popularly known by this name, as it was here that Shivaji had imprisoned his son Sambhaji.

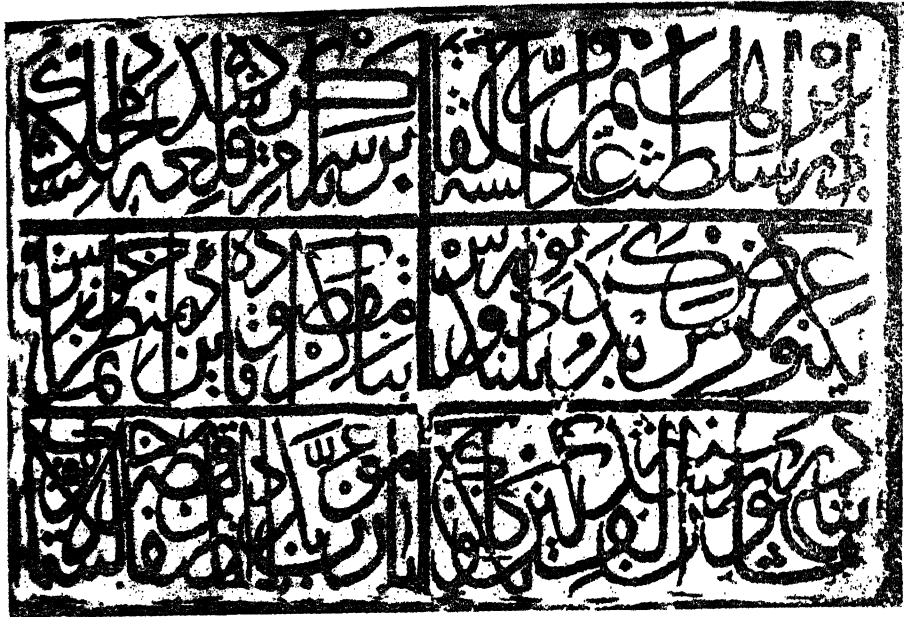
<sup>8</sup> *BG*, p. 424, No. 13.

<sup>9</sup> His infatuation for the term Nauras is well-known.

<sup>10</sup> For a note on Nauras, see *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXVIII (1954), pp. 333-35; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

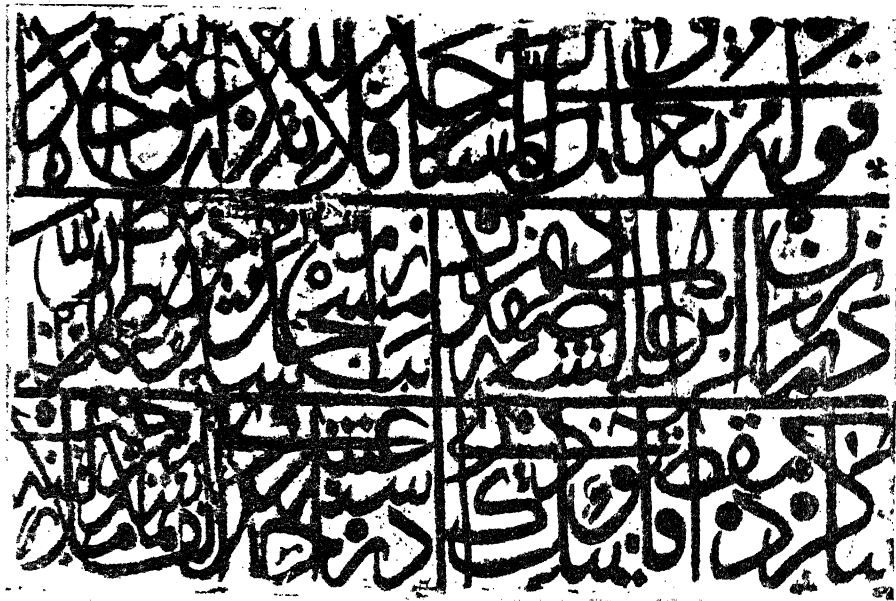


(a) Another record of Ibrāhīm II dated Shuhūr 1008 ( p. 77 )



SCALE : ·16

(b) Third record of the same monarch dated A.H. 1020 ( p. 78 )



SCALE : ·17



The text has been read by me as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

(۱) در سلطنت ابراهیم عادلشاه فرخ لقا  
بر سر . بام قلعه کرده شد محل دلکشا  
(۲) یکنورس گز عرض بد دو نورس بلند  
بنا کرده مقصود آقا این منظر خوش نما  
(۳) در شهر سنه ثمان الف شد کین کاخ نکو  
یا رب مؤید باد این قصر باصفای  
کتبه مولانا رجب

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of auspicious countenance, an attractive palace was built on the terrace of the fort.

(2) It was one *Nauras* (i.e. nine) yards in width and two *Nauras* (i.e. eighteen yards) in height. This (building of) pleasing view was erected by Maqsūd Āqā.

(3) In the Shuhūr year one thousand and eight (Shuhūr 1008 i.e. A.H. 1016=1607-08 A.D.), this excellent edifice was constructed. O Lord! May this pure edifice last for ever! Written by Maulānā Rajab.

X. THIRD RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED A.H. 1020

The third record of Ibrāhīm II and tenth of the present lot is fixed above the central *mihṛāb* of the Jāmi‘ Mosque in the Ibrāhimpurā locality.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptional slab measuring 68 by 41 cm. contains three lines of writing, of which the first one is in Arabic prose, while the remaining two contain a Persian verse each carved in relief in fairly good *Thuluth* characters. It is stated to have been penned by the same Maulānā Rajab who had designed the two previous records. As it is, it is the best of the three, calligraphically. But as in the case of the other two, the text is a fine specimen of mediocre poetry.

The inscription states that Maqsūd Āqā constructed a mosque with a clean tank in Shuhūr 1011 i.e. A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and that the text was written by Mullā Rajab.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, and the translation quoted there is as usual faulty, but the purport is correctly stated except for two mistakes of consequence: The first is that the date given is Shuhūr 1021, which is wrong, as the text has 1011 in words which, though not so specified must refer to the Shuhūr era, as this year is equivalent to the Year 1020 given in figure, which is intended as Hījra era. Secondly, here again, the name of the scribe Mullā Rajab is mistaken for the month of Rajab and the word Mullā has been wrongly read as *Malāz*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 208.

<sup>2</sup> *BG*, p. 424, No. 14.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

## TEXT

## Plate XXI(b)

- (۱) قوله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو [ا] مع الله احدا  
 (۲) در زمان ابراهيم عادلشہ صفدر بنا شد مسجد ز مع حوض مطهر سنہ ۱۰۲۰  
 (۳) بنا کرد مقصود آقا نیک راے در سنہ احدى عشر و الف شد تما متر کتبہ ملا رجب

## TRANSLATION

(1) The Exalted (Allāh) has said, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.<sup>1</sup>

(2) In the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, the valiant (lit. breaker of ranks), the mosque with a pure tank (for ablution) was constructed. Year (A.H.) 1020 (1611-12 A.D.).

(3) It was built by Maqsūd Āqā of good judgment and was completed in the (Shuhūr) year one thousand (and) eleven. Written by Mullā Rajab.

## XI. FRAGMENTARY RECORD

The eleventh epigraph is carved on the right slab fixed in the platform in the compound of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> The slab measuring 1 m. by 30 cm. is fragmentary and contains one line of writing in Persian verse, carved in relief in *Thulth* characters of a fairly good type.

The fragmentary slab seems to have lost its portion in the beginning, and hence the earlier part of the text is lost. As a result, it is difficult to determine the purport of the record with certainty. The extant text only refers to the assistance of one *Khalaf Khān* through which some edifice was constructed. Since the text also exhorts the visitor to show great deference to the place, it is pretty certain that the edifice was the Tomb of a saint. As the composition is faulty it cannot be asserted but the edifice could also be the 'Qadamgāh of Prophet *Khidr*', i.e. the building containing the foot-print of *Khidr*. It may be, however, pointed out that while the foot-prints of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad, and even of 'Alī are known, we do not usually come across any such relic of Prophet *Khidr* who is immortal and also hidden from the eyes of mankind. The text is inscribed in *Thulth* characters of fairly good quality, the calligrapher being one Muḥammad son of Farīdu'd-Dīn.

But, the rendering of this epigraph given in the Bombay Gazetteer, which quotes a date, as also assigns it to a gate,<sup>3</sup> gives an impression that the earlier part was extant when it was then noticed, but that does not appear to be the case, as the rendering and the present extant text are more or less of the same length. Therefore, the confusion is due to nothing else but the wrong reading of the epigraph which resulted in its misleading rendering in English. There is no date in the extant text but from the calligraphy it may be assigned to the first part of the seventeenth century.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter LXXII, verse 18.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *BG*, p. 424, No. 15.



(a) Fragmentary epigraph ( p. 79 )



SCALE : 17

(b) Another fragmentary record ( p. 80 )



The composition of the metrical text, in contrast with its calligraphy, is quite hopeless.

It has been deciphered by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII(a)

بامداد خان [خلف] نامدار بماند بسی سال ازو یادگار  
بی ادب پامنہ اینجا کہ عجب درگہ است کہ قدمگاہ خضر منزل شاهنشاست

*Left margin.*

کاتبہ العبد محمد ابن فریدالدین

TRANSLATION

Through the help of the celebrated Khalaf Khān. May it remain as his memento for many years.

Do not step in here irreverently, for it is a wonderful threshold, for the building of the foot-print of (Prophet) Khidr is (like the) abode of an emperor.<sup>1</sup>

*Left margin.*

Written by the humble creature Muhammad son of Faridu'd-Din.

The calligrapher Muhammad son of Faridu'd-Din appears to be a talented calligrapher, but he does not find mention in chronicles. The record is therefore important for the history of calligraphy and also for preserving the name of an artist of note in this field.

XII. ANOTHER FRAGMENTARY EPIGRAPH

The last record of the group is fixed on the eastern wall of the Dargāh of Bārā Imām in the Fort.<sup>2</sup> Its one-line text comprising three hemistiches of Persian verse is inscribed on a fragmentary tablet which measures 1.10 m. by 30 cm. The style of writing is excellent *Thulth* characters executed in relief against floral background. The extant portion of the text seems to refer to the construction of some matchless edifice and to the reign of the king during which it took place.

In the notice of this epigraph in the Bombay Gazetteer,<sup>3</sup> it is stated to contain the remaining three lines of a Quatrain, but a look at the text will show that the verses are in a metre different from that employed in Quatrains. Also the translation in the Gazetteer names the king as 'Alī, which again is wrong and nothing more than a result of faulty reading.

<sup>1</sup> This line may also simply mean : ...threshold which is the place which Prophet Khidr visits and where the emperors come and alight.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 205.

<sup>3</sup> *BG*, p. 424, No. 17.



# THE SHUHUR SAN : DATE EQUIVALENCIES, ORIGINS AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS

BY MARIE H. MARTIN, AHMEDNAGAR

## I. INTRODUCTION

Scholars working with Deccani materials from the fourteenth century onwards are familiar with the dating era called the Shuhūr San variously called Sur San, Shahur Sān, Arabi San, etc. Tables and/or discussions of the era are found in both Marāṭhi works and English works. But there are discrepancies in the treatment of the era—for example, Tables do not agree, there is confusion concerning what is actually the first day of each year, and quick calculations (such as subtracting 599 from the Christian year) are not necessarily accurate. By combining English Marāṭhi sources (M. Nāzim, G. H. Khare, and B. F. Moḍak), tables are available from the last quarter of the fifteenth century through the nineteenth century; and L. D. Swamikannu Pillai offers tables covering the entire period although not immediately relating to the Shuhūr San. The Tables are inconsistent, unfortunately, and there is no single source which gives as lucid explanation of the intricacies involved in calculating date equivalencies; therefore, there is no way to judge which tables can be used with the greatest degree of accuracy and confidence.

This essay will attempt to resolve the problems of the Shuhūr era; first, there will be a brief introduction to the era; then, an explanation of the reasons for the discrepancies in existing source for setting the initial day of each Shuhūr year; thirdly, a method for calculating Shuhūr date equivalencies will be presented; and, finally, there will be a detailed analysis of various specific problems of calendar equivalencies relevant to understanding the calendar systems involved.

This essay has been written because of the interest and help of a number of scholars, professional persons, and institutions. Dr. Z. A. Desāi, Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, and Dr. A. A. Kādiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the same office, drew my attention to some of the problems involved in the Shuhūr San and suggested bibliography. Dr. G. N. Morje, Head of the Marāṭhi Department, Ahmednagar College, very kindly helped locate Marāṭhi sources and translated the relevant passages for me. And Faculty members, professional persons and staff connected with Deccan College, Poonā, the Archaeological Survey of India, South-Western Circle, Aurangābād, and Ahmednagar College, Ahmednagar, have assisted me in various phases of the research. I hope that this article will not only contribute to the study of South Asian History, but also serve as a demonstration of my thanks for their help and confidence.

## II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SHUHŪR SAN

One of the earliest descriptions in English of the Shuhūr San was given by James Grant Duff in 1826 :

The *Miry* or cultivator's year, always commences in the beginning of our month of June, corresponding with the end of the Hindoo month, *Veyshak*, or beginning of *Jeshṭ*.....

( 81 )

By calculation, it appears that the Soorsun, (generally written Shuhoorsun by the Mussulmans), was introduced on the Mirg, in Heejree 745, which corresponds with A. D. 1344-45; and hence it would appear, that it must have originated with Mohummud Tughluq Shah. It was much more like his character, than that of the emperor Akber, to introduce so useless an innovation; but it was in the reign of Akber that the Fusslee era commenced to the north of the Nerbuddah, and it was introduced into the Deccan by his grandson, Shah Jahan, in the year of the Heejree 1047, or A.D. 1637-38. The Soorsun and Fusslee eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the Heejree when they commenced, but without making allowance in future reckoning, for the difference between the solar and lunar years; but which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fusslee are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.<sup>1</sup>

Grant Duff's comments can be summarized in three categories. The first of these is the information about the era which is agreed upon by other authorities: the Shuhūr San is a solar era; the first day of any single Shuhūr year corresponds with the 'Mirg'—i.e., the day when the sun enters the Nakshatra Mrigasiras; and, since the Shuhūr year is calculated on a solar basis, it diverges from the Hijri year because each Shuhūr year contains more days than each Hijri year. Additional information from other authorities confirmed by records using Shuhūr dates, indicates that the Shuhūr year is 599 to 600 years behind the Christian year (from about June through December it is 599 years behind, and from January to about June it is 600 years behind; and, that although the Shuhūr and Hijri years begin on different dates, any particular day in Shuhūr era is identified by the Hijri nomenclature for that day.

The second category of Grant Duff's comments is his opinion that it was a "useless innovation". The continued use for several centuries of the Shuhūr San by different dynasties and different rulers suggests exactly the opposite. G. H. Khare points out that except for military documents it was used for most official records, particularly those which had to do with land and land revenue.<sup>2</sup> Upon reflection, its suitability for record-keeping seems obvious: by embracing a complete agricultural year, records concerning land and land revenue could be immediately understood without adjustment. And since the year began with the sowing season and, therefore, NEAR THE ONSET OF THE MONSOON, not only was organised material relevant for tax computation immediately available, but so was also information necessary for budgetary projections and estimations. In terms of an economy based heavily on agriculture, this was a more efficient time-period than a calendar year which changed at about the time of the spring harvest, as by early June some intimation of the potential of the monsoon was available for anticipating the yields of the coming year, and for planning broader budgetary considerations. Thus, for record-keeping purposes in the Deccan, it was an extremely logical calendar period.

The final category of comments has to do with calculations. Grant Duff says that the year begins in early June corresponding with the Hindu luni-solar months of Vaisakha or Jyestha; however, according to other authors, the year begins as early as 23 May and as late as 7 June. Furthermore, he suggests that calculations indicate that the year apparently was introduced in A.H. 745 (1344-45 A.D.). To verify these statements, a systematic method for finding date

<sup>1</sup> James Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I (London, 1826), pp. 55-56.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Khare, *Companion to Researchers* (Poona, 1951), p. 112.



equivalencies must first be established, and in order to do this, certain idiosyncrasies of the Christian calendar *vis-a-vis* the Hindu luni-solar calendar must be examined.

### III. CHRISTIAN CALENDAR PROBLEMS

Long before the period of the Shuhūr San, the Julian calendar was in effect in the Christian countries of Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Vernal Equinox which had originally fallen on the 21st of March came regularly on the 11th of March. In 1582 Pope Gregory declared that, in all Roman Catholic countries, ten days were to be omitted—the fifth of October was to be the fifteenth of October—in order to correct this shift and to bring the Vernal Equinox back to the 21st of March. In addition, all years evenly divisible by four were to have one extra day (i.e., the 29th of February) except in the case of the beginning of a century when only the first two digits had to be evenly divisible by four. That is to say, the years 1600 and 2000 were to be leap years, while the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 would not be, as the first two digits cannot be evenly divided by four.

The Gregorian reforms, however, were not instituted immediately in the Protestant and Orthodox sections of the Christian world. Of particular importance for South Asianists, they were not accepted in England. The result was that the English Old style calendar was out of step with the Gregorian calendar. From 5 October 1582 until 28 February 1700, the English calendar was ten days behind; and, because the English calendar continued to have a leap year in all years divisible by four, from that date until the English calendar reform in 1752, the English calendar was eleven days out of phase. The English reform took place when 2 September 1752 was followed by 14 September 1752, omitting the eleven day disparity between the calendars and establishing the Gregorian calendar in England.

For those scholars working with materials from the sixteenth century onwards, this raises the problems of reconciling Christian dates with one another. From October 1582 to the end of February 1700 sources which are Roman Catholic (e.g. French, Portuguese, etc.) have a ten day discrepancy; from then until 1752 the discrepancy is eleven days. Furthermore, reforms in Orthodox countries (e.g., Russia, Greece, etc.) did not occur at the same time as the English reform, and in some cases this discrepancy continued into the twentieth century, becoming greater in 1800 and 1900 where the old style Julian calendar prevailed.

In regard to Indian materials, the eleven days omitted by the 1752 reform had the effect of moving all days backward—e.g., any date which before the reform had fallen regularly on 8 May, since the reform omitted eleven days, then fell on 20 May. And any occasion falling with regularity near the end of May, then shifted into early June. So the major reason for the May/June discrepancy in references to the Shuhūr San is due to the English calendar reform.

This does not explain the discrepancy completely, as different authorities say that the variation in days between the two calendars was from 23 May to 25 May and from 5 June to 7 June (plus two days, plus eleven days, plus two days, or four days more than the calendar changes explain). This additional disparity is due to the different methods used to calculate the length of the Hindu solar year and the Christian solar year.

Technically, the Christian year is calculated on the basis of the time interval between one Vernal Equinox and the next, a period of a little less than 365 days and six hours. The Hindu

solar year is calculated on the basis of the time required for the earth to complete one revolution around the sun measured in relation to the (apparently) fixed stars, a period of a little more than 365 days and six hours. This time difference means that over a long period of time, the Christian calendar will gain slightly on the Hindu calendar; if a Hindu solar date is equal to 23 May for many years, it will then shift to 24 May, and after many more years it will shift to 25 May.<sup>1</sup>

This is the same relationship which is seen between the Hijri lunar calendar and the Christian solar calendar, but in this instance the discrepancy is about eleven days per year and the gain is very rapid. As the disparity between the Christian calendar and the Hindu solar calendar is only a few minutes per year, it takes many years for even a one day discrepancy to appear. But, whenever tables embracing a long period of time are presented in which the opening day of the Shuhūr year always corresponds with the same Christian date (with—as in Nāzim—or without—as in Khate—allowance for leap year additions), the tables are obviously fallacious and have not taken into account this shift.

#### IV. THE CALCULATION OF SHUHŪR SAN EQUIVALENCIES

One source which gives the scholar enough information with which to accurately calculate Shuhūr San equivalencies is Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*.<sup>2</sup> Pillai explains the era briefly, saying that its current year is 599 years behind the Christian year, and that each year begins when the sun enters the Nakshatra Mrigasiras. In a footnote, he gives an example of how to calculate the first day of any particular year, but without explanation: (1) the sun enters the Nakshatra Mrigasiras when his (the sun's) longitude is 53 degrees 20 minutes (2) the number of days which correspond to this longitudinal figure equals 56; and (3) when the solar year begins as in 1911 on 13 April, the sun's entry into the Nakshatra Mrigasiras would be 56 plus 13, or 69 days from 1 April, i.e., on 8 June.<sup>3</sup>

This example in Pillai's footnote, although it is not particularly clear, describes the procedure for calculating the first day of the Shuhūr year. What Pillai does not explain is that the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra Mrigasiras, because it is a solar phenomenon, takes place every year the same number of days after the beginning of the solar year—i.e. 56 days after the solar new year. Since the first month of the solar year is Mēsha in Sanskrit and Chittirai in Tamil, the first day of the solar year will be found in Pillai's tables as 1 Mēsha-Chittirai in the column labelled "Solar Reckoning", under the heading "Cyclic Sidereal year, month, and day". In bold type, corresponding either to the month of March or April, 1 Mēsha-Chittirai will be seen, and reading across the line the equivalent Christian and Hijri dates will be given. For reasons which will be explained in the section on "The Indian Civil Day", the information must be read from the tables and not taken from the top of the page which gives the moment of Mēsha Sankranti. Because the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra Mrigasiras occurs 56 days later, 56 must be added to the March/April date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai in the tables. To facilitate these calculations, Pillai has included information in all the volumes in the form of an end paper or a book marker entitled "Table III: Days of the English Calendar Year, reckoned cumulatively from March 1 and April 1 respectively", as well as in the Eye Tables, section q, found in Volume 1 Part 1 on pp. 156-57, 162-63, and 168-69 at the top of the pages.

<sup>1</sup> Actually a simple shift from 23 to 24 to 25 May is not immediately apparent because of the interpolation of a leap year day every four years. This phenomenon and the resultant pattern will be carefully examined in the section "Mēsha Sankranti Equivalencies: An Unusual Pattern".

<sup>2</sup> L. D. Swāmikanu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, 7 volumes (Madras, 1922 and 1925).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 55 and f.n.

In order to calculate the first day of the Shuhūr year equivalent to 1413, for example, the tables indicate that 1 Mēsha-Chittirai fell on the equivalent Christian date of 27 March (even though the actual moment of Sankrānti was 26-86 March in the Surya Siddhānta and 26-79 in the Ārya Siddhānta). To find the date corresponding to 56 days later, Table III is used, the column referring to cumulative days from the first of March. To the 27th day of March, 56 is added, giving a total of 83. The first of May is 62 days from the first of March; and 83 minus 62 will be 21 days after the first of May, or 22 May.

As another example of this procedure, to find the beginning of the Shuhūr year which occurred in 1783, the Pillai tables show that 1 Mēsha-Chittirai corresponded with 10 April. Since the date is being calculated from 1 April, 10 is added to the 56 days necessary for the sun to enter the Nakshatra Mrigasīras, totalling 66. The first of June was 62 days after 1 April, and 66 minus 62 gives a difference of 4 days after 1 June, or 5 June 1783. According to this procedure, since Table III gives the number of days corresponding to the first of the month, a date equivalency will always be X number of days after the first of the month, and so it is necessary to add 1: the day 6 days after 1 June is 7 June; the days 25 days after 1 May is 26 May, and so forth.

(For those who find no confusion in numbers, there is a slight modification of Pillai's method which simplifies the calculations. During the period of the use of the Shuhūr San, all the days 1 Mēsha-Chittirai fell either in March or April, and all the corresponding first days of each Shuhūr San year fell respectively in May and June. The time from 1 March to 1 May is 62 days, and the time from 1 April to 1 June is also 62 days. Since 1 needs to be subtracted with Pillai's method, the actual difference is 61. So to calculate an exact answer, one need only to subtract 61 from the total of the days of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai PLUS 56, remembering that a March date corresponds with a May date, and an April date corresponds with a June date.)

For most scholars, however, calculating the first day of any particular Shuhūr year corresponding with a Christian year is not of itself of interest. What is wanted is a method to find a Christian date equivalent to a particular Shuhūr date. If the only information given is a particular year—say Shuhūr 823—then the addition of 599/600 gives the equivalent Christian years, i.e. 1422/23. Checking Pillai's tables for those two years, Mēsha-Chittirai began on 26 March both years, and 26 plus 56 totals 82. Referring to Table III, 1 May was 62 days from 1 March, so that the first day of the Shuhūr San in both 1422 and 1423 fell on 82 minus 62 plus 1 May, or 21 May. The Shuhūr year 823 began on 21 May 1422 and ended the day before the next year began, that is on 20 May 1423.

In a case in which both a Shuhūr year and a Hijrī year are given but with no additional information, an even more precise calculation can be made. For example if the Shuhūr year 823 and the Hijrī year 826 are given, since Shuhūr year 823 embraced 21 May 1422 through 20 May 1423, then the time shared by these two years was from 15 December 1422 (when Hijrī 826 began) to 20 May 1423.

Finally, there is the case in which a complete Shuhūr date is cited, as 1 Shawwāl Shuhūr 965. Adding 599/600 to 965 gives 1564/65 as the equivalent Christian years. Pillai's Hijrī tables indicate that there was only one 1 Shawwāl which fell into that period, occurring on 2 May 1565.

Since the solar Shuhūr year is longer than the lunar Hijrī year, some part of the Hijrī calendar will be repeated in each Shuhūr year—e.g., if 1 Muharram in a normal 354 day Hijrī year should happen to fall on the first day of the Shuhūr year, then the Hijrī year would expire after 354 days while the Shuhūr year continues to run, and a second 1 Muharram would fall in that Shuhūr year. The eleven days which are repeated would then be distinguished as *awwal* (first) and *ākhar* (last) days. Or if 10 Ṣafar should happen to correspond with the first day of a Shuhūr year, then 355 days later 10 Ṣafar would again be the Hijrī date in the next Hijrī year, but the 365 day Shuhūr year would still be running; in this case the dates 10 through 21 Ṣafar would be identified as *awwal* and *ākhar*.

## V. THE ORIGIN OF THE SHUHŪR SAN

Although finding date equivalencies of Shuhūr San dates is of primary importance to most scholars, the introduction of the era is of historical interest. Several epigraphers have tentatively assigned the date of the era's introduction, but the evidence available does not justify their specificity. Since V. S. Bendrey's discussion includes material not found elsewhere, his comments are given in full:

It is believed that the Ārabī era originated from the ascension of Muṣṭak to the throne of his father Abraha in 589 A.D. The first year of the era, however, coincided with 600 A.D., and its commencement occurred in the latter half of May 600 A.D. Another version of the origin of this era is that the era may have been an off-shoot of the Hijrā reckoning probably originated in or closely about the year 745 A.H. (i.e. May 15th, 1344 to 3rd May 1345 A.D.), and it may have been introduced in the southern part of Mahārāṣṭra by Muḥammad Tughluq during his regime. This view finds support in the circumstance that a new era was introduced by the Jawhar Chief in commemoration of his investiture with "Shah"-ship by Muḥammad Tughluq. Whatever be the origin of the era, it is definitely ascertained from the records now available that its initial point must be taken as 600 A.D. for our calculation of this era.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons for Bendrey's conclusions concerning the Arabi San are not clear. Firstly, Abraha and his son were Ethiopian rulers of Yemen during the period of Ethiopian ascendancy (A.D. 529 to 606) in that area. If the title originated with either of them, since they were not Arabs, they must have been identifying an already extant era; but Bendrey gives no evidence that such an era was in effect in Yemen. And had either of these rulers originated the era himself, one would expect to find the title reflecting their Ethiopian heritage or carrying some reference to their own names. Secondly, there is no indication of which records "now available" demonstrate "that its initial date must be taken as 600 A.D.". Has Bendrey simply subtracted the 599/600 discrepancy between the Christian era to arrive at this figure; and if so, then the correct answer would be from the latter half of May 599, not 600. Also, if the era was instituted in 589, why were the years not numbered until 600? And finally, since the calculation of the beginning of each Shuhūr year is based on a Hindu solar calculation, and since the period of the year is so well suited to Deccani conditions, it suggests most strongly that the era was not imported but was native to the area.

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<sup>1</sup> Bendrey, *Study of Muslim Inscriptions* (Bombay, 1944), p. 33.

This last statement is highly suggestive, in that it implies that the official introduction of the era for record-keeping purposes was simply a recognition of the suitability of an extant way of dividing the year. It is common knowledge that amongst different communities in the sub-continent the actual beginning of the year for calendar purposes does not necessarily correspond with the beginning of the year for other purposes. For example, the Mārwarī book-keeping year begins officially with Lakṣmī Pujā, not with either the calendar year or the tax year. In the Deccan, the "Mirg" was the beginning of the cultivators' year, and at some point some one in officialdom seems to have recognised the suitability of this year for land and land revenue records. So that actually what is being discussed in terms of fixing the "origin" of this era is, when did the suitability of the agricultural year for record-keeping purposes become apparent, and when was the agricultural year first used as an official record-keeping year?

Returning to Bendrey's analysis, it is suggested as it was in Grant Duff that the origins of the Shuhūr San lie in the period of Muḥammad Tughluq's domination of the Deccan. Other ephe-merists comment on this point, but their explanations lack detail. C. S. Patell, for example, says :

According to Jervis, it was introduced on the 6th of June, 1342 A.D., in 743 of the Hegira ; others place it a year sooner. He states that the computation of its agreement with the Hegira year shows it to have begun when the 745th Hegira (A.C. 1344) corresponded with the 745th Shuhur San.<sup>1</sup>

And R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit say :

It only diverged from the Hijra in A.D. 1344, according to the best computation, since when it has been a solar year as described above. On May 15th A.D. 1344, the Hijra year 745 began. But since then the Shahur reckoning was carried on by itself as a solar year.<sup>2</sup>

The basic assumption underlying the two statements above, Bendrey's comments, and Grant Duff's description, is that when the Shuhūr era was introduced, it bore the same number as the Hijri year current, just as the various Faṣlī eras did ; but, given the solar nature of the era, each year was longer than each Hijri year, so that through time the numbering of the years diverged, the Hijri system moving ahead by about three years per century.

A common factor in all four descriptions is the reference to the year A.H. 745, but the commentaries are speculative and contradictory. The Patell statement is internally inconsistent—the era was introduced on 6 June 1342 (which was 1 Muḥarram 743) or a year earlier, but it began in 745. Bendrey hedges by saying that it originated "in or closely around" 745. Grant Duff says, "By calculation, it appears" to have been introduced in 745. And Sewell and Dikshit say that it "diverged" from the Hijri year in 745. These contradictions are the result of various fallacious assumptions. Jervis, for example, was aware that in the nineteenth century the "Mirg" fell in early June, so he apparently searched for an early June date when 1 Muḥarram might have corresponded with the "Mirg"—as in 1277, 1342, and 1375. The year 1342 seemed most suitable given the 599 year discrepancy between the Shuhūr and Christian eras. Unfortunately, he neglected to take into account the calendar reform of 1752 before which the "Mirg" would have taken place in May, not in June. The Sewell and Dikshit statement suggests that, since A.H. 745 began on 15 May and the Shuhūr year began later, the dates diverged at that time. This assumes, incorrectly, one of two things : either (1) that the Shuhūr year and the Hijri year were identified by the same number before 745; or (2) that since the Hijri year began before the Shuhūr

<sup>1</sup> Cowasjee Sorābjee Patell, *Cowasjee Patell's Chronology* (London, 1866), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Sewell and Sankara Bālkrishna Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar* (London, 1896), p. 45.

year, the Shuhūr year would have had a different number—but this is when the Shuhūr year would have had the same number.

In order to resolve the problems above, Table 1 has been constructed showing when it was possible for the Shuhūr and the Hijrī year to be identified with the same number. Column 1 gives the number of the Hijrī year; column 2, the equivalent Christian date of the first day of that Hijrī year, of 1 Muharram; column 3, the last day of that Hijrī year; column 4, the first day of the Shuhūr year; column 5, the Shuhūr year; and column 6 the Hijrī year current when the Shuhūr year began. The asterisks identify years when the Hijrī year and Shuhūr year were not the same.

A.H. 741 began on 27 June 1340. The Shuhūr year and the first day of that year can be calculated with the method explained previously in this essay. 1340 minus 599 gives the Shuhūr year 741. In 1340, the first day of Mēsha-Chittirai was 26 March. 26 plus 56 equals 82, and 82 minus 62 equals 20. 1 May plus 20 equals 21 May. So the first day of Shuhūr 741 was 21 May 1340. The Hijrī year 741, however, did not begin until the end of June—in other words, the Hijrī year current when 1 Shuhūr San 741 would have taken place was 740. Therefore, if the assumption that when the Shuhūr year was introduced it was identified with the number of the Hijrī year current is correct, it could not have been introduced in A.H. 741 (1340 A.D.). Following this procedure, all the Hijrī dates from 741 through 781 have been given along with the Shuhūr dates.

Examining the table, one can see that it was possible for the Hijrī and Shuhūr years to be identified with the same number only from A.H. 745 through 776 (A.D. 21 May 1344 through 1 June 1375). The Shuhūr year, therefore, could not have been introduced before A.H. 745, nor after A.H. 776. And the two eras “diverged” in A.H. 777 (1375 A.D.), not in the period of the 740’s.

The numerical evidence alone does not establish the exact year in which the era was first used for book-keeping purposes. It does make highly dubious the assertion that it was introduced by Muhammad Tughluq since from 21 May 1344—the earliest date the era could have been introduced as seen above—he was absent from the Deccan and returned only in 1345 for the siege of Daulatābād. Conditions in the Deccan were extremely unsettled in 1344-45, and political hegemony was not restored until after the establishment of the Bahmanī dynasty in 1347. It seems far more likely that the era was first used officially by the Bahmanīs between 1347 and 1375 while creating and consolidating their own political and revenue structures, rather than during the confusion of the political collapse of the Tughluqs.

There now remains Bendrey’s statement about the “Jawhar Chief”. This may be a reference to an officer named Malik Jauhar,<sup>1</sup> but the Persian source—which Bendrey does not give—must be studied closely. The statement as given is clearly ambiguous—most political leaders take great pride in introducing a “new era”. Usually this is a figurative statement; and when it is literal, it means enumerating years from the time of the ruler’s accession rather than introducing a new system.

## VI. HINDU LUNI-SOLAR TERMS RELEVANT TO UNDERSTANDING SHUHŪR SAN CALCULATIONS

The section describing the method for calculating Shuhūr San date equivalencies was presented without explanation because of the complexities of Hindu calendar calculations. In

<sup>1</sup> By “Jawhar Chief” is intended the Chief or Rāja of the erstwhile Jawhār State situated within the geographical limits of Thāna District, near Bombay. Prof. Bendrey has perhaps derived his information from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV (London, 1908), p. 88, which too, unfortunately, does not quote any source. Thus any reference to an officer Malik Jauhar is out of question; Miss Martin was misled by the similarity of names. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this particular piece of information needs further scrutiny and study as stated by Miss Martin.—Ed.

order to understand why the method presented is accurate and also to indicate under what circumstances there may be discrepancies in Pillai's tables affecting the Shubhūr San, it is necessary to examine certain aspects of the Hindu luni-solar calendar, and also to consider certain assumptions made by Pillai when compiling his tables.

#### i. THE LUNI-SOLARY YEAR, SIDDHĀNTAS AND ANKRĀNTIS

Indian calendar systems generally follow the same procedural rules for calculations; however, the constants used to define the length of certain astronomical periods may differ slightly. These constants define systems which are called *siddhāntas*; and there are two major *siddhāntas* in use in the sub-continent. One of these systems, the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, is found throughout the sub-continent; the other, the *Ārya Siddhānta*, is used in the South. The only difference between the two systems occurs in the fixing of the time of the exact moment of *Sankrānti*—the beginning of each solar month; and, for the centuries with which this essay is concerned, this involves a difference of .06 to .11 of a day.

The luni-solar year used in India is calculated on the basis of both lunar and solar phenomena. The solar calculations involve the sidereal year—a year measured in terms of the time required for the earth to move around the sun and return to a particular position determined in relation to the (apparently) fixed stars. Each of the twelve months of the solar year begins when the sun enters a different *rāśi*—Sign of the Zodiac—and the exact moment of its entrance is called a *sankrānti*. Pillai suggests that it is helpful to think of these solar months as “hinges” and to consider the lunar months as “doors” which swing on the hinges.<sup>1</sup>

The moment of *Mēsha Sankrānti*—the phenomenon which determines the beginning of the solar year and the first day of the first solar month—is a “hinge”, and the new moon which precedes this *sankrānti* starts the lunar month associated with that *sankrānti*—it is the door hanging on the *Mēsha Sankrānti* hinge. On the second *sankrānti* of the year, the next lunar month is hung, beginning on the new moon which precedes that *sankrānti*. Usually (but not always) the solar months have a regular number of days, varying from 29 to 31, depending on the month. The actual length of the lunar month, however, is 29.53 days. It is possible, then, for a month of 30 or 31 days to have two new moons; and that solar month will then have two lunar months commencing within it. Much more rarely, there is no new moon in a 29 day solar month, and so a lunar month is dropped from the calendar in that year.

As stated above, the length of the regular solar months ranges from 29 to 31 days. Occasionally, however, the regular month may contain an extra day. This happens in the *Tamīl-nāḍu* system when the moment of *Sankrānti* occurs after sunset.<sup>2</sup> Instead of beginning the new month immediately, it is not extended by one day. It is for this reason that a particular date in a single solar month cannot be identified as always occurring 56 days after *Mēsha Sankrānti*. And, therefore, in every year the calculation of the day the sun enters the *Nakshatra Mṛigasīras* must be calculated by the addition of the 56 day difference.

#### ii. THE LUNI-SOLAR DAY, NAKSHATRAS AND TITHIS

There are two ways of defining daily time in the Hindu luni-solar system. One of these is in terms of *nakshatras*. In non-technical terms, a *nakshatra* corresponds to a lunar mansion, and

<sup>1</sup> Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed explanation, see sub-section iii. The Indian Civil Day.

there are 27 lunar mansions in the Hindu calendar system. From the point of view of an observer on the earth, this nakshatra cycle is complete when the moon has travelled around the earth until it has regained its position in regard to a fixed group of stars identified as a particular nakshatra—a period of a little over 27·32 days. Since there are 27 nakshatras, the time unit of one nakshatra is equal to a little more than one day, say about 1 day 18 minutes.

The other method of defining daily time is based upon the time required for the moon to move from one new moon to the next. This period is about 29·53 days long, during which the moon not only travels around the earth but also travels with the earth in its orbit. In so doing, it moves to a point further in the earth's orbit, and in order for the sun's rays to be blocked out sufficiently for another new moon to occur, it must move further around the earth as well. There are 30 tithis in this lunar period, so that one tithi is slightly less than the western day, say about ·98 of a day.

As daily time-keeping units, nakshatras and tithis have no effect on the *Shuhūr* San. The term nakshatra, however, is used in regard to fixing the first day of the *Shuhūr* year which occurs when the sun enters the Nakshatra *Mrigasīras*. A more technical definition of a nakshatra is the portion of the ecliptic occupied by the moon on successive days. Since the ecliptic is the apparent path of the sun through the stars over a period of a year, the sun also moves through the 27 nakshatras. And just as the sun moves around and appears to re-enter the constellation *Mēsha* once a year, it also will pass through each nakshatra at a particular time each year. In his footnote referred to above, Pillai calculates this time by measuring the distance between the point of *Mēsha Sankrānti* and the point which indicates the entrance of the sun into *Mrigasīras* in degrees of longitude and then converts this measurement into days. Since the stars involved are so distant as to seem to be fixed, this distance is a constant, and the time required to traverse it is also a constant. Thus the sun's entrance into the Nakshatra *Mrigasīras* always occurs 56 days after *Mēsha Sankrānti*.

### iii. THE INDIAN CIVIL DAY

On a day-to-day basis, time is kept according to the divisions of the Indian Civil Day. This day begins at sunrise, not at midnight, and is split into 60 units called *ghaṭikās*. Pillai has used the civil day as the basis for his calculations, and when he cites the moment of *Mēsha Sankrānti* at the top of the page of his Ephemeris dealing with each year, he has expressed that moment in decimal places of the civil day. For example, in 1400 A.D., *Mēsha Sankrānti* took place on 26·24 March according to the *Surya Siddhānta*. Checking either the book-marker or end-sheet, the decimal ·24 of a day equals 14 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *ghaṭikās*, or 5 hours 45 minutes. This time is reckoned from sunrise; if sunrise were at 6:00 A.M., then the time indicated would be 5 hours 45 minutes later, or 15 minutes before noon. Assuming that the mean sunrise time for India is 6:00 A.M., then any fraction over ·75 of a day, or over 45 *ghaṭikās*, would take place after midnight; and in western terms that would put it into the following day.

In different parts of India there are different calculations for the commencement of the civil day. In Orissā, irrespective of the moment of *Sankrānti*, the first day of the solar month begins on the actual day (i.e. civil day, calculated from sunrise to sunrise) of the *sankrānti*. In areas of Malabār, if *sankrānti* occurs before 18 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then that civil day is the civil *sankrānti* day; if *sankrānti* occurs after 18 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then the next civil day is identified as the *sankrānti* day. In Tāmilnāḍu, the cut-off point is 30 *ghaṭikās*; if *sankrānti* occurs when 30 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then the next civil day is identified as the *sankrānti* day. And in Bengāl, when *sankrānti* occurs during the first 45 *ghaṭikās* of a day, the next



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day is the civil sankrānti day; if it takes place after 45 ghaṭikās, the following day is the civil day.<sup>1</sup>

Examining Pillai's tables once again, two things should be noted about the relationship between the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti and the first day of the first solar month, 1 Mēsha-Chittirai. Pillai gives two calculations for the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti, one in the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, one in the *Ārya Siddhānta*. In his tables he gives date equivalencies of Mēsha-Chittirai and the Christian date. Whenever the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti according to the *Ārya Siddhānta* corresponds to .50 of a day or more, 1 Mēsha Chittirai corresponds to the next Christian day. For example, in 1436, Mēsha-Chittirai took place at 26.56 March according to the *Ārya Siddhānta*. Pillai gives the day of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai as 26 March. In 1440 however, Mēsha Sankrānti took place at 26.69 March in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and at 26.52 according to the *Ārya Siddhānta*. In this case Pillai gives the date equivalency of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai as 27 March. Pillai has used the Tamilnāḍu system for calculating the civil day in his tables, as well as the *Ārya Siddhānta*, and both of these are southern systems. Nowhere is it made explicit, however, that the various rulers of the Deccan from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries used these two southern systems exclusively for their astronomical calculations.

The effect on the calculation of Shuhūr San dates, if other systems were used, would only occur when certain time periods were involved. Had the *Sūrya Siddhānta* been used rather than the *Ārya Siddhānta*, since the difference is .06 of a day in the fourteenth century and .11 of a day by the end of the nineteenth century, very few dates would have been affected, and only those dates where Mēsha Sankrānti took place at a crucial moment of the civil day. If one of the other three systems of computing the civil day had been used, then only during certain portions of a day would there have been an effect on establishing 1 Mēsha-Chittirai from the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti. In the Malabār system, times from .30 to .50 of a day would not convert to the next day as the Tamilnāḍu system does; and in the Bengāl system, times from .50 to .75 of a day would be the same as the Tamil system; all other times would be one day advanced.

The circumstances under which a discrepancy might be discovered are limited. When there is an accompanying Hijrī date, since the method presented uses Hijrī tables for finding the equivalent Christian date, there will be no discrepancy. In cases when only a Shuhūr date is available for establishing the first or last day of the Shuhūr year, there is a possibility of error. The only way this error can be detected and rectified is if a document clearly states that particular serial day of the Shuhūr year fell on a Hijrī date (or Hindu date, for that matter) of such-and-such, and it can then be demonstrated that the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti which began that Shuhūr year fell into one of the vital time periods listed in the preceding paragraph.

Recalling what was said earlier in the essay about the introduction of the Shuhūr San suggests that it is more probable that these two southern systems have been used rather than the other systems. To begin with, the Shuhūr San was first introduced in the South, not in the North. It was not until some two centuries later that it appeared in the North as the *Faṣlī era*. Furthermore, it seems to have been introduced by the Bahmanīs, a southern dynasty despite their northern origins, the strength of whose kingdom was dependent upon the agricultural conditions of the South. As the Shuhūr San was applied to Deccani conditions and used Hindu dating calculations for setting its initial day, it is logical to anticipate that local personnel would be used to establish important moments in that local system. Since the Tamilnāḍu system of calculations was the most widespread in the Bahmanī areas—the Bengāl system being far removed, and the Orissā

<sup>1</sup> See Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

and Malabar systems being confined to relatively small regions removed from the areas of Bahmani dominance—it is the most likely system to have been employed.

### VII. 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES : AN UNUSUAL PATTERN

An examination of Pillai's calculations for the date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai indicates an unusual pattern of date-changes which repeats itself over a period of a little more than a century (see Table 2, *infra*). The reason for this strange looking pattern has to do with the discrepancy in the Christian calendar calculations between the real length of the year and the length used for calendar calculations. The real length of the year is 365 days 3 hours 48 minutes and 45 seconds, or slightly less than 365 and  $1/4$  days. Every four years an extra day is added to correct the calendar, but since the real calculation is a little less than  $1/4$  of a day per year, this extra day slightly overcompensates for the real discrepancy. In order to demonstrate exactly what happens, Table 3 has been prepared. For convenience in reckoning, the length of the year has been rounded off to 365 days 5 hours and 48 minutes. In terms of a fraction of a day, 5 hours and 48 minutes equal 348 minutes over 1440 minutes or  $87/360$ ths. The years are imaginary, beginning with XX01, and each year evenly divisible by 4 (e.g., XX04, XX08, XX48) is a leap year.

Following the table, the year XX01 expires after 365 days, but there are  $87/360$ ths of a day left in the real year; so the calendar is missing that fraction of a day, it is minus  $87/360$ ths of a day. The year XX02 will also be a 365 day year, losing another  $87/360$ ths, so that the total time discrepancy will be minus  $174/360$ ths. The same situation applies to the third year, the total time lag at the end of XX03 being minus  $261/360$ ths. The year XX04, being divisible by 4, will be a leap year of 366 days and *plus*  $360/360$ ths of a day are added; however, the real addition of time is (minus  $87/360$ ) (times) (4), or minus  $348/360$ ths. The calendar has added *plus*  $360/360$ ths, so that the calendar has moved ahead of the real time by *plus*  $12/360$ ths. In next year, XX05,  $87/360$ ths are lost again, and the calendar is once more behind real time, the sum of a positive  $12/360$ ths and a negative  $87/360$ ths being minus  $75/360$ ths. Expanding the table to cover 120 years (because a fairly small and regular fraction has been used), the table comes around to the beginning again as far as the fractions are concerned, and one whole day has been added.

Analysing the contents of the table, it begins with a pattern of three minus signs and one plus sign: then it moves to a pattern of two minus signs and two pluses; the next shift is to a pattern of one minus and three pluses; the fourth change is to a pattern of four pluses; finally the pattern is one day extra along with the original pattern of three minus signs and one plus sign.

Comparing this pattern with the dates of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai from 1348 to 1479, the same pattern is seen (the years do not correspond exactly because the fraction used to compute Table 3 was rounded off rather than a precise fraction). Beginning in 1348, there are three minus years in a row—that is 26 March—and in 1351 a plus year, or 27 March. This pattern repeats for some years. Then in 1379 the pattern changes to two minus and two plus days—i.e., 26, 26, 27, 27 March. In 1406 there is a shift to one minus and three plus days—i.e., 26, 27, 27, 27 March. In 1437 the pattern of all pluses emerges—i.e., 27, 27, 27, 27, March. And in 1467 an entire new day is added, the 28th of March, and the original pattern of three minus and one plus day begins again—i.e., 27, 27, 27, 28 March.

### VIII. ANOTHER TABLE FOR CONVERSION

Many scholars working with South Asian materials may not have continuous access to Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*, and moreover, it is difficult to carry when on tour. A small, fairly inex-

pensive volume which is available (originally priced at Sh. 10/50, now perhaps slightly more) is G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville's *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963. One drawback to the volume is that the user has to calculate date equivalencies; however, the method is quite simple and can be learned very easily by anyone who is not petrified when faced with normal addition and subtraction. Furthermore, dates in this volume covering the centuries when the Shuhūr San was in use agree with the dates in the *Ephemeris* with two exceptions: the Freeman-Grenville volume follows the Gregorian reform of 1582, and there is an error in assigning the week day corresponding with 1 January from 1582 through 1878.

For adapting dates up to the calendar reform of 1582 and after the calendar reform of 1752, the following method can be used:—

(1) On a separate sheet of paper, convert the 1 Mēsha-Chittirai dates of 25, 26, 27 March, etc., and 9, 10, 11 April, etc., to their appropriate dates corresponding with the sun's entry into the Nakshatra Mṛigashīras 56 days later.

(2) Using Pillai's tables for 1 Mēsha-Chittirai, along with the list of equivalencies prepared in 1 above, 25 March will be immediately understood as 20 May, 26 March as 21 May, etc.

(3) In the Freeman-Grenville volume in the column labelled "Christian date to Muḥarram 1", on the right side, enter the correct date of the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra Mṛigashīras corresponding with each Christian year. The column will then read 15 May 1344-21/5; 4 May 1345-21/5; 24 April 1346-21/5; etc. It is easiest to make the entry after the Christian year (rather than before the Hijrī year) because every 33 years or so two Hijrī years will begin in the same Christian year (1356, 1388, 1421, etc.).

(4) Then treat the date which has been entered with the same method with which all dates in the Freeman-Grenville volume are treated.

Dates in the *Ephemeris* were not reformed until 1752, while the Freeman-Grenville dates are reformed from 1582. So that the tables may be internally consistent, it is necessary to correct the Pillai figures when entering them into the Freeman-Grenville tables. Since 4 October became 14 October in 1582, Pillai dates such as 28 and 29 May will be converted to 7 and 8 June. In 1700 with the leap year day, the discrepancy becomes one day more. By keeping the table in the Freeman-Grenville volume consistent, all dates in the volume can be used the same way. And any figure which is the result of a series of calculations can then be converted at the end to correspond with the English calendar.

The error in assigning the week day corresponding with 1 January is a systematic error from the year 1552 through 1878. Each 365 day Christian year consists of 52 weeks and 1 day, so that if a year begins on a Sunday it also ends on a Sunday, and the next year begins on Monday. In leap years, because of the addition of an extra day, if a year begins on Sunday, then the following year begins on Tuesday. In 1551 the year began on Thursday; in 1552, then, it began on Friday. Freeman-Grenville has put back the day to Wednesday instead of advancing it to Friday, so that from 1552 onward, until 1871, all days are two days out of phase. During this period, whenever Thursday is given as the first day of the year, it must be corrected to read Saturday; when Monday is given, it must be corrected to read Wednesday, etc. In addition there is a typographical error in the year 1706; Saturday is given, but Sunday would be correct in terms of the systematic error. From 1872 through 5 January 1878 the error is reduced to only one day, and these eight years must be corrected by the addition of one day—Wednesday should be corrected to read Thursday, etc.

TABLE 1

YEARS WHEN THE HIJRI AND SHUHÛR YEARS COULD HAVE BORNE THE SAME  
NUMBER

Hijri Year	First Day of Hijri Year	Last Day of Hijri Year	First Day of <u>Shuhûr</u> Year	<u>Shuhûr</u> Year	Hijri Year Current on First Day of <u>Shuhûr</u> Year	Asterisks indi- cate years when Hijri & <u>Shuhûr</u> Numbers Differed
741	27/6/1340	16/6/1341	21/5/1340	741	740	*
742	17/6/1341	5/6/1342	21/5/1341	742	741	*
743	6/6/1342	25/5/1343	21/5/1342	743	742	*
744	26/5/1343	14/5/1344	21/5/1343	744	743	*
745	15/5/1344	3/5/1345	21/5/1344	745	745	
746	4/5/1345	23/4/1346	21/5/1345	746	746	
747	24/4/1346	12/4/1347	21/5/1346	747	747	
748	13/4/1347	31/3/1348	21/5/1347	748	748	
749	1/4/1348	21/3/1349	21/5/1348	749	749	
750	22/3/1349	10/3/1350	21/5/1349	750	750	
751	11/3/1350	27/2/1351	21/5/1350	751	751	
752	28/2/1351	17/2/1352	22/5/1351	752	752	
753	18/2/1352	5/2/1353	21/5/1352	753	753	
754	6/2/1353	23/1/1354	21/5/1353	754	754	
755	24/1/1354	15/1/1355	21/5/1354	755	755	
756	16/1/1355	4/1/1356	22/5/1355	756	756	
757	25/1/1356	24/12/1356	21/5/1356	757	757	
758	25/12/1356	14/12/1357	21/5/1357	758	758	
759	15/12/1357	2/12/1358	21/5/1358	759	759	
760	3/12/1358	22/11/1359	22/5/1359	760	760	
761	23/11/1359	10/11/1360	21/5/1360	761	761	
762	11/11/1360	30/10/1361	21/5/1361	762	762	

Hijri Year	First Day of Hijri Year	Last Day of Hijri Year	First Day of <u>Shuhūr</u> Year	<u>Shuhūr</u> Year	Hijri Year Current on First Day of <u>Shuhūr</u> Year	Asterisks indicate years when Hijri & <u>Shuhūr</u> Numbers Differed
763	31/10/1361	20/10/1362	21/5/1362	763	763	
764	21/10/1362	9/10/1363	22/5/1363	764	764	
765	10/10/1363	27/9/1364	21/5/1364	765	765	
766	28/9/1364	17/9/1365	21/5/1365	766	766	
767	18/9/1365	6/9/1366	21/5/1366	767	767	
768	7/9/1366	27/8/1367	22/5/1367	768	768	
769	28/8/1367	15/8/1368	21/5/1368	769	769	
770	16/8/1368	4/8/1369	21/5/1369	770	770	
771	5/8/1369	25/7/1370	21/5/1370	771	771	
772	26/7/1370	14/7/1371	22/5/1371	772	772	
773	15/7/1371	2/7/1372	21/5/1372	773	773	
774	3/7/1372	22/6/1373	21/5/1373	774	774	
775	23/6/1373	11/6/1374	21/5/1374	775	775	
776	12/6/1374	1/6/1375	22/5/1375	776	776	
777	2/6/1375	20/5/1376	21/5/1376	777	778	*
778	21/5/1376	9/5/1377	21/5/1377	778	779	*
779	10/5/1377	29/4/1378	21/5/1378	779	780	*
780	30/4/1378	18/4/1379	22/5/1379	780	781	*

TABLE 2

## THE PATTERN OF 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES, 1348-1479

Year	March Date of 1 Mēsha- Chittirai	One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March
1348	26	
1349	26	
1350	26	
1351	27	+
1352	26	
1353	26	
1354	26	
1355	27	+
1356	26	
1357	26	
1358	26	
1359	27	+
1360	26	
1361	26	
1362	26	
1363	27	+
1364	26	
1365	26	
1366	26	
1367	27	
1368	26	
1369	26	
1370	26	
1371	27	
1372	26	

Year	March Date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai	One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March
1373	26	
1374	26	
1375	27	+
1376	26	
1377	26	
1378	26	
1379	27	+
1380	26	
1381	26	
1382	27	+
1383	27	+
1384	26	
1385	26	
1386	27	+
1387	27	+
1388	26	
1389	26	
1390	27	+
1391	27	+
1392	26	
1393	26	
1394	27	+
1395	27	+
1396	26	
1397	26	
1398	27	+
1399	27	+

Year	March Date of 1 Mesha- Chittirai	One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March
1400	26	
1401	26	
1402	27	+
1403	27	+
1404	26	
1405	26	
1406	27	+
1407	27	+
1408	26	
1409	27	+
1410	27	+
1411	27	+
1412	26	
1413	27	+
1414	27	+
1415	27	+
1416	26	
1417	27	+
1418	27	+
1419	27	+
1420	26	
1421	27	+
1422	27	+
1423	27	+
1424	26	
1425	27	+
1426	27	+



Year	March Date of 1 Mēsha- Chittirai	One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March
1427	27	+
1428	26	
1429	27	+
1430	27	+
1431	27	+
1432	26	
1433	27	+
1434	27	+
1435	27	+
1436	26	
1437	27	+
1438	27	+
1439	27	+
1440	27	+
1441	27	+
1442	27	+
1443	27	+
1444	27	+
1445	27	+
1446	27	+
1447	27	+
1448	27	+
1449	27	+
1450	27	+
1451	27	+
1452	27	+
1453	27	+

Year	March Date of 1 Mēsha- Chittirai	One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March
1454	27	+
1455	27	+
1456	27	+
1457	27	+
1458	27	+
1459	27	+
1460	27	+
1461	27	+
1462	27	+
1463	27	+
1464	27	+
1465	27	+
1466	27	+
1467	27	±
1468	27	+
1469	27	+
1470	27	+
1471	28	++
1472	27	+
1473	27	+
1474	27	+
1475	28	++
1476	27	+
1477	27	+
1478	27	+
1479	28	++

TABLE 3

THE PATTERN OF CALENDAR YEAR AND REAL YEAR TIME DISCREPANCIES  
(SEE SECTION VII. 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES: AN UNUSUAL  
PATTERN, FOR EXPLANATION)

Number of Year	Discrepancy
XX01	— 87/360
XX02	— 174/360
XX03	— 261/360
XX04	+ 12/360
XX05	— 75/360
XX06	— 162/360
XX07	— 249/360
XX08	+ 24/360
XX09	— 63/360
XX10	— 150/360
XX11	— 237/360
XX12	+ 36/360
XX13	— 51/360
XX14	— 138/360
XX15	— 225/360
XX16	+ 48/360
XX17	— 39/360
XX18	— 126/360
XX19	— 213/360
XX20	+ 60/360
XX21	— 27/360
XX22	— 114/360
XX23	— 201/360
XX24	+ 72/360

Number of Year	Discrepancy
XX25	— 15/360
XX26	— 102/360
XX27	— 189/360
XX28	+ 84/360
XX29	— 3/360
XX30	— 90/360
XX31	— 177/360
XX32	+ 96/360
XX33	+ 9/360
XX34	— 78/360
XX35	— 165/360
XX36	+ 108/360
XX37	+ 21/360
XX38	— 66/360
XX39	— 153/360
XX40	+120/360
XX41	+ 33/360
XX42	— 54/360
XX43	— 141/360
XX44	+ 132/360
XX45	+ 45/360
XX46	— 42/360
XX47	— 129/360
XX48	+ 144/360
XX49	+ 57/360
XX50	— 30/360
XX51	— 117/360

---

Number of Year	Discrepancy
XX52	+ 156/360
XX53	+ 69/360
XX54	- 18/360
XX55	- 105/360
XX56	+ 168/360
XX57	+ 81/360
XX58	- 6/360
XX59	- 93/360
XX60	+ 180/360
XX61	+ 93/360
XX62	+ 6/360
XX63	- 81/360
XX64	+ 192/360
XX65	+ 105/360
XX66	+ 18/360
XX67	- 69/360
XX68	+ 204/360
XX69	+ 117/360
XX70	+ 30/360
XX71	- 57/360
XX72	+ 216/360
XX73	+ 129/360
XX74	+ 42/360

---

Number of Year	Discrepancy
XX75	— 45/360
XX76	+ 228/360
XX77	+ 141/360
XX78	+ 54/360
XX79	— 33/360
XX80	+ 240/360
XX81	+ 153/360
XX82	+ 66/360
XX83	— 21/360
XX84	+ 252/360
XX85	— 165/360
XX86	+ 78/360
XX87	— 9/360
XX88	+ 264/360
XX89	+ 177/360
XX90	+ 90/360
XX91	+ 3/360
XX92	+ 276/360
XX93	+ 189/360
XX94	+ 102/360
XX95	+ 15/360
XX96	+ 288/360
XX97	+ 201/360

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---

Number of Year	Discrepancy
XX98	+ 114/360
XX99	+ 27/360
X100	+ 300/360
X101	+ 213/360
X102	+ 126/360
X103	+ 39/360
X104	+ 312/360
X105	+ 225/360
X106	+ 138/360
X107	+ 51/360
X108	+ 324/360
X109	+ 237/360
X110	+ 150/360
X111	+ 63/360
X112	+ 336/360
X113	+ 249/360
X114	+ 162/360
X115	+ 75/360
X116	+ 348/360
X117	+ 241/360
X118	+ 174/360
X119	+ 87/360
X120	+1000/360

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